Chapter XII

The Hottentots

[170] The seventeenth century Dutch gave the aborigines of the Cape of Good Hope region the name "Hottentots" because of their peculiarly clicking language. According to contemporary authors "Hottentot" was an insulting term for a stutterer. This nickname has stuck to the people. 101

As far back as their history extends, the Hottentots have never united in one nation. Even the oldest Dutch [171] settlers at the Cape report of tribal wars. In addition to this, beginning with the seventeenth century, the Hottentot tribes were pressed back by the white race from the south and in the nineteenth century by Bantu invasions from the north. As the Hottentots were thus compressed into an ever narrowing area, increasingly bitter battles for pasture grounds and water holes resulted and the processes which for ages have commingled the yellow-skinned nomadic tribes of South Africa were accelerated: migrations over an extensive area; the scattering of related elements; and the union of unrelated ones into a new tribal community under a new leader. We will not enumerate the tribes which succumbed during these struggles; the sources of their oldest history are obscure. The best accounts of the past century are missionary reports. (65) 175 619

65. Berichte der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Barmen.

We can pass over the few remnants of the Hottentots that are left in the present Cape colony; they are vanishing, physically debased and spiritually estranged from their people in customs and language. They are the Korana and the Griqua and a few families scattered among the Boer farms that work as day-laborers. Only north of the Orange River a number of Hottentot tribes remained strong and relatively pure, linked with the tribes or hordes who had fled across the great river to escape pressures of civilization. Both, the aborigines and the refugees, were undisputed masters of Great Namaland up to the beginning of the eighties. Now fate has also caught up with them. The tribes, still important political factors before their last attempt at revolt, will be distinguished by name for only a short period. As history has taught, the differentiation of the tribes disappears with the captaincies (that greatest danger to peace which has now, we hope, finally been removed). Of the Hottentot tribes north of the Orange, with whom we first became more closely acquainted about the middle of 131 619

the nineteenth century, five had already been destroyed in native wars before our armed intervention in the disorders of Namaland. Their former territory (as of 1852) is indicated on the map by broken lines, for the borders of the remaining tribes (as of 1890) by unbroken lines (cf. map legend). At the moment it is not possible to foretell what the situation will be in regard to their numbers, their captains and their dwelling places, when the country is at peace again. At least the names of the tribes can be listed here: [172] a) Na‿ma-n is the name the Hottentot gives to those tribes who have lived for generations in present-day Great Namaland. They are: 131 6R

1. The ǂAo-ǁnin or !Go-ǁmen, who are sometimes called *ǁNa-ranin by their neighbors because of their gourd (naras) fields, the Topnaars of the Boers.

2. The ǁKχa-ragai-kχoĩn, shortened to ǁKχa-r(a)-kχoĩn, the Franzmann Hottentots or also called the Simon Kopper people after their captain.

3. The //Ha-bobe-n or Veldskoendragers.

4. The ǁGa-miǂnũ-ǁn or Bondelzwarts.

5. The //Kχau-ǁgõa-n or Zwartbooïs now settled in the northern kookoveld outside of Namaland with a few scattered exceptions.

There are also others, who, although today they are scattered, still live in the memories of the natives as ancient tribal communities.

6. The //Kχau-ben or the Rooi Natie.

7. The ǁKχa-roǂo-an or the Tsaibechen Hottentots of Keetmanshoop.

8. The //Ogain or Grootdooden.

b) ᵒGũ‿ǁnũn is a designation for those Hottentot tribes, who emigrated from the present Cape Colony to Great Namaland at the turn of the nineteenth century. The following, usually called Orlam, belong here:

9. The ǁA-maĩn or Bethanie Hottentots.

10. The ǀHai-ǀkχau-an or Berseba Hottentots.

11. The ǀKχo-besin or Witbooïs.

12. The Gai-ǀkχau-an or Amraal Hottentots of Gobabis.

In addition there is the tribe, extinct since 1889 which, under the leadership of Jonkers and Jan Afrikaner was the most feared of all the Orlam tribes.

13. //Aᵗ-ǂa//a-en or the Afrikaaner.

These thirteen names will soon be all that is left of the old tribal divisions of the Hottentots. Before the destruction of the language, ideas and customs of this people, inevitable as its political destruction ensues, 114

B. The Tribal Community

178 The scattering of the population over wide areas and their unstable manner of living, both a result of the climatic conditions of the country, has not permitted the social and civil life of the Hottentots to establish rigid norms. In addition, the confusions of the last years have swept away the ancient customs that had persisted until recently, so that a unified presentation of the social life of the Hottentots in their state and community is impossible today. The traveler [318] can only note those basic beliefs that he finds in his dealings with the natives which are still alive among the people even though they may not be publicly expressed. The little that I can report here concerns the Hottentots' views about property, sexual relations, and power.

1. Property

423 The only instances of private ownership of land probably occur only in the nara-fields of the Kuiseb region behind Walvis Bay. The hut is movable property and the so-called "gardens" were originally foreign to the Hottentot and do not count here. The usable stretches of land, the pasture areas, are common property of the families who have their cattle there. The right to this pasture area exists only as long as no stronger community contests it. Battles for pastures and cattle have been fought by the Hottentots among themselves from time immemorial. [721] The lack of organization beyond the narrow tribal bounds has contributed greatly to the splintering of national [619] power.

422 Within the tribe (another ethic exists in regard to the white man) private ownership of movable property, especially cattle, is sufficiently protected. Theft is considered a serious wrong and is very severely punished (see Power).

426 Repayment of a debt (again only among themselves) is considered a matter of honor but is often taken lightly enough: "!aũs ga ǂareza ota nĩ ra ma tsi," i.e. When the rock-rabbit gets a tail (i.e. never), I will give it back to you."

425 In spite of the Hottentot's strictness in preserving his own private property rights, he is not at all miserly. He not only divides the last thing he has with his own people, he is (and was particularly so as all the older accounts testify) particularly hospitable to passing strangers. It would be superfluous [574] to prove again that this hospitality was not based on a shrewd expectation of gaining some advantage, but on a deeply rooted feeling of brotherhood.

3. Power

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Power within the tribal community at the time of my stay in Namaland, was, as it had been for generations, in the hands of a chief, gao-aob or ǂgao-b, a "captain," and of a council of older men, with whom the captain discussed all important matters, sometimes leading in an arrogant way, sometimes led by the others, according to his personality. The right to sit in the council is not tied to specific conditions. Ability, experience and age qualify one. But in many particulars this ancient Hottentot form of government is today strongly influenced by the Cape Dutch models and Christian elements (cf. the followers of Hendrik Witbooi) (73).

73. H. v. François, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe).

If the Hottentot kraals which are under one captain are far apart, the captain places a relative as a kind of governor in charge of the distant one. In this way the ruling family branches out into clans that are widely separated and distinguished by special names (frequently borrowed from their ancestors). The Topnaars differentiate the relations of their capitain in this way: /hai begu, mũ//(e)ĩn and ǃnorabagu.

The decision about war and peace, about migrations and trade relationships, the settlement of legal quarrels and the setting of punishments was, until recently, the authorized power of the captain and of his council. The last attempt at rebellion by the Hottentots against white rule will have completely eradicated the native form of government. With Hendrik Witbooi, in his own way a respectable person, its last representative has departed.

C. The Relationship of the Hottentots to the Foreign Races in their Home and Neighborhood

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This relationship will only concern us briefly and only in its personal aspect, to the extent that it adds to the picture of native character.

It is assumed without argument that the Hottentots have given expression to their own pride in the phrase by which they call themselves, [322] elevating themselves above all other people: Kʰoi-kʰoin, "people of peoples," in the same glorifying sense that we use when speaking of the "Book of Books." This concept must be modified. If one asks a Hottentot: "mã ǃhaos kʰoētsa?", i.e. literally "A man of what tribe are you?", he answers

either "na-/mata," "I am a Nama," or he assumes this knowledge and understands the question as a doubt of the purity of his humanity and then he answers: "kxoë-kxoëta," "I am a true person." The doubling has the same meaning here as in the answer of a Hottentot in reply to a skeptical question: "tarebe hāba?", "What kind of a horse is that?" the answer: "hā-hāba g(u)mo," "oh, but a horse-horse," i.e. a true horse. With the doubling of the designation "person" the Hottentot is saying that he is a person without anything foreign in him, that he is no half-way creature such as a Bushman Bastard or a despised Bergdamara, who they consider related to the baboon (cf. folk tale XV). In the same sense the Hottentot would understand the answer "kxoë-kxoëta" from the mouth of a white. Thus if the designation kxoï-kxoin was a collective name for all the Hottentot tribes (it does not seem to be so any more among the people) then it did not have the meaning of "elite people" but was only the designation to show that the Hottentot, while living surrounded by other people, was conscious of his "genuineness," i.e. of the racial purity of the origin of his humanity. That does not exclude the idea that he also acknowledged the same in other peoples. Individually, however, his estimate of foreign races was determined by his experience.

1. Personal Relations With the Other Natives of South Africa

a) The Bushman occupies the lowest place. The Bushmen, of all the South African human tribes, probably have the oldest ties with the Hottentot. But when and how they became his slaves we do not know. They are despised and treated with the greatest severity. Stealing cattle, for which they cannot compensate as they have no property, is punished by death. The nomadic hunting life of the miserable remnant of the Bushmen in Namaland does not permit any intermarriage with the families of their masters and makes their position of dependence seem slacker than is usually associated with the status of slave. [Plate XIV. Bushman from the Sandfeld, of the tribe of the Gobanin.] [323] It is based less on force that on the willing subordination of the weaker people, in the expectation of small handouts of the necessities of life although also with the knowledge in the back of their minds that they are completely without rights.

More closely tied to the Hottentot families are the Bergdamara or "mountain Kaffir". We will not discuss the mysterious origin and the ethnological characteristics of these very dark, thickset, middle-sized people any more than we discussed the Bushmen. We are only interested in the Hottentots' opinion of them.

whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hüttentüt* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–79; Pettman, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hetts kis* (? *Heitsi Eibib*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them in friendly greetings".

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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therefore to draw any clear-cut lines of distinction among them based on either of these factors. Their languages, on the other hand, although all very closely related, fall into four separate dialectical groups. It is customary therefore to group the people themselves into four main divisions, corresponding to the linguistic groupings. These four divisions are known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana, and the Naman.

The CAPE HOTTENTOTS were the people found by the first European settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay. They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous.[1] The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups.[2] In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the Naman. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hancumqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.

It is estimated by Theal, on the basis of the early records, that about the time when the Dutch settled at the Cape these different groups together must have numbered from 45,000 to 50,000 persons.

[1] There is a considerable body of literature on this division. The most useful original sources are: N. J. Graevenbroeck, *Elegans et accurata gentis Africanae circa Promontorium Capitis Bonae Spei vulgo Hottentotten nuncupatae descriptio epistolaris*, MS. (1695), published in a Dutch translation by van Oordt under the title "Uit den Ouden Tijd", in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1886; P. Kolb, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum, das ist vollständige Beschreibung des afrikanischen Vorgebirgs der Guten Hoffnung*, Nürnberg, 1719; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 265–342.

[2] The names of these tribes are unfortunately spelt so inaccurately in the early records that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct version of the name according to the Hottentot pronunciation is no longer obtainable. Almost all the names are written not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person masc. plur. (*-kwa* or *-qua* in the Cape Hottentot dialects). The versions given above are those most generally employed by the early writers.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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But the intimate and prolonged contact into which they now came with European culture ultimately resulted in their complete disintegration. Wars with the settlers and imported diseases, such as smallpox, led to a rapid decline in the numbers of the people. Even more effective, however, in destroying their original status was the very considerable amount of miscegenation that from the first years of the settlement began to take place between them and the white settlers and imported East Indian slaves. It is questionable whether at the present time a single pure-blooded individual of this division can still be met with, and naturally all semblance of their original culture and tribal groupings has long since vanished.

A few of the groups, resenting the intrusion of the Europeans, early began to trek away inland from the vicinity of the settlement. One of these groups, the Kora, which moved away towards the end of the seventeenth century, is said to have formed the nucleus of the present Korana division. Another group, the Grigriqua or Charigiriqua, after receiving a considerable infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it was gradually joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community.[1]

The line of division between the CAPE and the EASTERN HOTTENTOTS is not easy to draw. From the records of the early travellers it appears, however, that the groups which can be regarded as belonging to the latter included, amongst others, the *Inqua*, probably in the present district of Aberdeen, the *Damaqua*, between the Gamtoos and Swartkops Rivers, and the *Gonaqua*, at first apparently an insignificant

[1] On the history of the Hottentots in relation to the European settlers, cf. G. M. Theal, *History and Ethnography of Africa, South of the Zambesi, before* 1795, 3 vols., London, 1910, *passim*; Fritsch, op. cit., 449 sqq.; Barthel, op. cit., 20–33; W. M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question, a Historical Survey*, London, 1927. The early history of the Griqua is fully described by Stow, op. cit., pp. 316–403; cf. also Fritsch, op. cit., 376–84.

[i.e., The Cape Hottentots.—Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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tribe, who by the middle of the eighteenth century had become the most powerful group of Hottentots in the east, and extended from the Sundays River to the Great Fish River. Very little is actually known of these people, especially as regards their social habits and customs. They are said to have differed slightly in appearance from the Cape Hottentots, the result of intermixture with the neighbouring Bantu, and their language was also different in some respects. They have now apparently all been exterminated or absorbed by other races. They were the first Hottentots to come into contact with the Bantu invaders along the south coast, and it is largely as a result of both conflict and intermixture with these more powerful neighbours that they have become so completely effaced.[1]

The KORANA or !KORA are, as already noted, traditionally the descendants of the Kora or Gorachouqua, who, originally resident in the Cape Peninsula, began to draw away inland from the Dutch settlement towards the end of the seventeenth century. Their history for the last two hundred years has been one of continual strife with the Europeans on the one hand, and later with the Bantu as well. During the early half of the eighteenth century they gradually moved north-eastwards towards the Middle Orange, and by the end of the century they had been forced across that river to seek refuge round the junction of the Vaal and the Harts. They were found in 1813 by Campbell in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Old Lithakao, and later on settled at Bethany, under the influence of the Berlin Mission. For a time they managed to preserve their original status, and by about 1850 are said to have been divided into seventeen different groups numbering altogether some 20,000 persons. But by 1870 their tribal units had also become completely destroyed, chiefly as the result of disastrous fights with the neighbouring BaSuto. They have since declined considerably in numbers, and no semblance of their original organization now survives. They have mixed freely with the Bantu and with half-breeds, and although it is said that a number of racially pure individuals are still to be found, the majority of the present Korana have certainly a good deal of foreign blood in them.[2]

The fourth and best-known division of the Hottentots are the

[1] A summary of the early literature relating to these tribes is given by J. Hewitt, "Notes relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Eastern Province," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), pp. 304 sqq., esp. 308–15. The most useful account of the Gonaqua is in F. le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance dans les années 1780–5*, 2 vols., Paris, 1790, esp. vol. ii, pp. 28 sqq.

[2] Fritsch, op. cit., 366–76; Snow, op. cit., 267–315.

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NAMAS, spoken of more frequently as the Namaqua.[1] They were classified by the early Dutch settlers into two main groups: the *Little Namaqua*, living south of the Orange River in what is now Little Namaqualand, and the *Great Namaqua*, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South-West Africa. Both these groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and in the early days the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. But the Great Namaqua were always the most northerly group of Hottentots, and probably formed the rear-guard of their invasion of South Africa. Early in historical times they were settled definitely in the country north of the Orange River, where for a considerable time they held undisputed sway.

The Great Namaqua were subdivided into seven tribal groups, with one or two minor offshoots all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors. These groups were the *Gei //Khauan* (often known by their Dutch name *Rooi Natie*), the survivors of which are now resident at Hoachanas; the */Gami ǂNun* (*Bondelswarts*), in the district of Warmbad, just north of the Orange River; the *//Haboben* (*Veldskoendragers*), round Koes and Hasuur; the */Khara Gei Khoin* (*Simon Coppers* or *Franzmanns*), formerly found along the Auob River at Gokhas, but now living in British Bechuanaland south-east of Rietfontein S.; the *//Khau /Goan* (*Swartboois*), who lived at Rehoboth till about 1870, when they removed first to Ameib, and then to Fransfontein in the southern part of the Kaokoveld, where they are now found; the *//O Gein* (*Groot Doode*), who formerly roamed about the upper courses of the Great Fish River, but ceased to exist some fifty years ago as a result of inter-tribal quarrels and wars against the OvaHerero; and the *ǂAunin* or */Naranin* (*Topnaars*), of whom some live round Zesfontein in the Kaokoveld and the others at Walvis Bay.

At the present time there are also found in South-West Africa,

[1] The main sources of information on the habits and customs of the Naman are: J. H. Wikar, "Beriqt aan den . . . Heer Joachim van Plettenberg (1778–9)," published in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd* (3 vols., 1916–22), vol. ii, 78–138; T. Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," *Globus*, xii (1867); *idem*, *Tsuni-//Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi*, London, 1881; Fritsch, op. cit., 343–65; J. Olpp, *Angra Pequena and Great Namaland*, 1884; H. von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, Magdeburg n.d. (1896); J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; C. Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien* (ed. S. R. Steinmetz), Berlin, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman und Bergdamaren," *Z. Int. Priv.*, xi (1903), 657–86; L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907, pp. 170–549; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of Inxa among the Hottentots," *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), 65–82; *idem*, "The Expression of the Social Value of Water among the Naman of South-West Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 514–26; *idem*, "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots of South-west Africa," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24; H. Vedder, "The Nama," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, 109–52.

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619 besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, [144] before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white [191] blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Orlams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *//Aixa //ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the */Hobesen* or *Witboois*, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the */Aman* or *Bethanie Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the */Hei |khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei |khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange [177] River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been [144] completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older [191] people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the OvaHerero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have [144] further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

161 These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

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CHAPTER IX

Social Organization

114 The only Hottentot people whose social organization is at all well known are the Naman of South-West Africa, of whom a special study from this point of view has been made by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. The valuable description given by her[1] is supplemented in several respects by the observations of other writers,[2] so that it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the social structure of this division. The original organization of the other Hottentot peoples has long since been totally obliterated, and the information bearing upon it is too fragmentary to provide much material for discussion. As far as can be gathered, however, they appear to have had essentially the same system of social grouping as the Naman.

178 In the case of the latter also the old tribal system has been almost wholly destroyed. At the present time some of their tribes are already extinct, i.e. the tribal unity has been completely broken down, although one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one particular tribe or another. Most of the Naman, in fact, are now scattered all over South-West Africa in the service of Europeans, and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes. But even where a small remnant of the people still hold together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as headman or chief, much of the old system of grouping has ceased to exist. The following analysis, therefore, relates very largely to conditions of the past.

The Tribe

162 619 The nomadic pastoral life of the Naman and the unsuitable climatic conditions under which they dwell have resulted in their distribution over the country in small scattered communities. Although it appears from the traditions of the people that they all originally belonged to

[1] "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24. Except where otherwise stated, this is the principal authority for the facts recorded below.

[2] Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 23 ff.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. verg. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in Steinmetz's *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern*, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," *Z. Kol-Pol.*, xi (1909), 657–86.

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the one Nama tribe, they have long since become separated into a number of distinct and autonomous groups. The indigenous Naman, or "Great Namaqua", of South-West Africa, were divided within historical times into seven main groups of this kind, with one or two later offshoots, while the "Orlams" coming in from south of the Orange River were similarly divided into five main groups.[1] Each of these groups, */haus*, or "tribes", as they are generally termed, has its own distinctive name, but they all speak the same language, with slight dialectical variations, and they all bear the common name of Nama. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but according to tradition it is the name of a remote ancestor from whom these tribes have all sprung.

The names of the different tribes, in the case of the Great Namaqua, appear to be derived from some characteristic feature associated with the people, and are in many cases exactly translated by the Dutch names by which the tribes are now customarily known. Thus the *//O Gein* or *Groot Doode* are the "great dead"; the *//Haboben*, or *Veldskoendragers*, are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch *veldskoen*, Nama *//habob* or *//hawob*); while the *ǂAunin*, or *Topnaars*, are the "people of the point", a reference to the fact that they inhabit the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Naman. The name */Naranin*, by which this last tribe is also sometimes known, is derived from the */naras* melon, so outstanding an article in their diet.

In the case of the Orlams the native names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g. *//Khauan* from the personal name *//Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*), hence the tribal names *Gei //Khauan* and */Hei //Khauan*. The Witboois, on the other hand, have a Hottentot nickname, */Howesen*, from */howe* or */hobe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. The Dutch names for these tribes are taken partly from the chief settlements of the people, e.g. Bethanie, Berseba, and partly from their chief leaders, Afrikaner, Amraal, Witbooi.

Traditionally all the Great Namaqua tribes are descended from one line of ancestors, the *Gei //Khauan*, */Gami ǂNun*, *//Haboben*, */Khara Gei Khoin* and *//Khau /Goan* each having been founded by one of five brothers, while the *//O Gein* and *ǂAunin* are later offshoots from the

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 4–7.

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Gei //Khauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another; although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei //Khauan* received an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white man the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei //Khauan then numbered approximately 2,500, the /Aunin 750, the //O Gein 800, //Khau /Goan 1,000, //Haboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami /Nun 2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witboois 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000, Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923, however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei //Khauan numbered only about 100 and the //Khau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans, were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

The Clan

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (*/hau /nati*, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

[1] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, p. 94, quoted by Hoernlé, op. cit., 7.
[3] Hoernlé, op. cit., 9–16; Olpp, op. cit., 23; Kohler, op. cit., 338–9.

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family surname. That of the */Gari /Nagaman*, for example, is Swartbooi, and that of the */Neisi Ein*, another of the Swartbooi clans, is Beukes. Other clans have several of these surnames, e.g. those of the */Gurusin* clan of the same tribe are Swartbooi, Gertze, Richter, and Van der Bijl, and little genealogical connection can now be traced between the different family groups bearing these names. Members of the same clan, however, all considered themselves blood relatives, and were bound together by various common rules and observances. Marriage within the clan was strongly forbidden, so that a man had to seek his wife in another clan. The children belonged to the clan of their father. Apart from thus restricting marriage and regulating descent, and with it inheritance and succession, the clan seems to have functioned mainly as a political unit. There is no record of any ceremonial observances and taboos specially connected with the clan organization, nor was there anything in the nature of totemism among the Hottentots. The members of a clan all tended to live together, and membership of a clan guaranteed a person a strong measure of protection. He could always count on the support of his fellow-clansmen, especially in the case of blood feud. Early last century the vendetta system was still in force among the Naman, even between clans of the same tribe, and the chief of the tribe was unable to prevent two clans from carrying out blood vengeance on each other, or to force them to accept compensation.

The clan was thus the strongest unit ever attained by the Naman. Time and again a powerful clan would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and clan loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. The chief of the tribe was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character was accorded a great deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The whole conduct of affairs in the tribe was—and still is—the concern of the older men.

The clan structure of the Swartbooi as analysed by Mrs. Hoernlé shows the whole mechanism by which clans and tribes were formed among the Naman. A large and flourishing family would very often have its own favourite pasturing grounds, and be so large as to exclude members of other families or clans. In course of time they would become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begin to play the part of a chief. They would arrange migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and ultimately be

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618 acknowledged as independent. As the families increased descendants
619 of different brothers would group themselves more closely and form
513 clans and even sub-clans. In this way a new tribe would gradually
643 develop from a clan or part of a clan of the parent tribe.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 Small as the tribes were, their members were yet too numerous
618 to remain together for long at any one spot. As a rule they were
619 scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan of the tribe, or even of some part of a clan. The older members of the clan, however, would always stay on at the headquarters of the tribal chief; and in this encampment the relative position of the different clans was strictly regulated by custom.

361 In the old days the main tribal encampment was in the form of a
417 great circle.[1] The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn, in
231 which were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south.
618 Within this fence and round the circumference were the huts of the people, each hut facing inwards to the centre. The huts of the chief and the members of his clan stood in the western portion of the circle, facing east, and on either side of them were ranged in fixed order the huts of the other clans, the members of each clan living close together. The great open space in the centre served as a fold for the stock at night. Special enclosures were made for the calves and the lambs, but there were no enclosures for the cattle and sheep, which just lay in front of their owner's hut till driven out to pasture in the morning.

361 The old camping order of the clans has long since been given up,
592 but the order of camping of the families within the clan is still maintained in many instances. In any settlement of Hottentots may be found the huts of a number of men called by the same name and belonging to the same family group. These huts are ranged in order of seniority. The oldest brother with his wife, children, and dependents dwells furthest to the right, the youngest brother furthest to the left, as one stands, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut. Near each of the brothers are grouped his immediate dependents, the married sons to the right, the oldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to the hut of the father, while on the left is any married daughter not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds are

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 15–17, *passim*. For the Cape Hottentots, cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 109 and *passim*; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, 316 sq.; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 195–7.

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Chapter XI

ECONOMIC LIFE

Land Tenure

178 The extension of European settlement and control in South Africa
423 and the resultant breakdown in the tribal organization of the Hottentots have had as one of their first consequences the fact that independent tribal possession of land among the latter has long ceased to exist. At the present time the vast majority of the Hottentots are scattered far and wide over the country, without any definite tribal allegiance at all, still less with any definite tribal territory. It is only quite recently that reserves have at last been set aside in South-West Africa for the remnants of certain tribes such as the Berseba Hottentots, the Bondelswarts, and the Swartbooi's. But the system of land tenure prevailing here can hardly be regarded as identical with that which existed when the tribes were still independent and living under their own culture. In the first place, these reserves are under the control of the European administration, and then also the Hottentots have changed profoundly in many of their habits and ideas, as a result of long intercourse with the Europeans, and some of them have even taken in a small way to agriculture. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to the descriptions of the earlier writers in order to learn what were the laws and customs of the Hottentots regarding the tenure of land before they were so greatly affected by the influences of white civilization.

423 The Hottentots in their old form of life derived the bulk of their
619 subsistence partly from their flocks and herds, partly from the products
166 of the chase. Land, therefore, was of value to them chiefly as pasture and hunting ground. It is clear from the accounts of the early Dutch and other travellers that every Hottentot tribe in the Cape had its own territory, into which strangers might not intrude for hunting or pasture without first obtaining permission. There is, however, no concrete information as to the demarcation and control of these territories. The reading of history shows that the Hottentot tribes moved about freely over the country in search of pasture, and the boundaries between the different tribes, as far as can be ascertained,

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do not seem to have been at all clearly defined. It appears rather that in the early days of the Dutch settlement the different Hottentot tribes were situated far apart, each tribe forming certain centres round which it migrated, and claiming as its territory all the land where its members were accustomed to graze their herds or to live. But the right to this land existed only as long as no stronger community disputed it. From the earliest historical times fights for pasture lands are recorded as occurring among the Hottentots, the inevitable result being that a dispossessed tribe would have to move on to new lands. In any case the pasturing of their cattle in a country so subject to long droughts as South Africa undoubtedly occasioned continual and sometimes even extensive movements, so that anything in the nature of rigidly-defined tribal areas probably did not exist.[1]

In South-West Africa, where grass is more easily found than water, stress was laid particularly on the possession of waterholes, and little care was otherwise taken to define the boundaries between the different tribes more clearly. Different fountains or pools in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes. This, Mrs. Hoernlé points out, did not mean that other people could not use the water, but that one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that members of any other tribe intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so. She quotes in this connection an old document in which the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his waterholes. He gives them permission to stay, but states firmly that this does not mean he gives over the fountain to them. "The water is my water," he says again and again.[2]

With the coming of the Orlams from the south and the pressure of the OvaHerero advancing from the north, territorial disputes in Great Namaqualand became more frequent, and increasing emphasis was laid on the recognition of tribal boundaries. Intrusion was not readily allowed, but, on the contrary, deeply resented. If a tribe wished to move into the territory of another, application had first to be made to the chief of the resident tribe. If the two were on friendly terms, permission might be given freely; but if relations were not too good, a tribute was generally demanded as acknowledgment of the resident

[1] Cf. Snow, *Native Races*, 238 sqq.; Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap in de Hollandse Tijd*, vols. i and ii *passim*.

[2] "Social Organization of the Nama," 6. The document referred to is published in *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1834, p. 155.

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tribe's ownership and supremacy over the area. And so we see, for instance, that the Orlams when they penetrated north of the Orange River found the indigenous Nama tribes tolerating their presence only on condition that they recognized the jurisdiction of the chief in whose territory they settled, and that as an outward mark of submission they paid him an annual tribute of cattle or horses in return for the right to live and graze their herds on his lands. The effect of this restriction may easily be imagined. No sooner had the newcomers settled down and become accustomed to their surroundings than they refused to pay any further tribute. In the inevitable wars that followed the Nama were no match for their better armed and more experienced adversaries. Before very many years had passed the order of things was reversed, and the Orlams were dominant, while almost all the indigenous tribes either were absorbed or retained their lands on the same terms of tribute and vassalage as they had formerly exacted.[1]

How jealous was the regard for boundary and territorial rights in these days may be seen from the following incident. In 1889 the //Hohesen chief Hendrik Witbooi rather went out of his way while travelling from Keetmanshoop to Gibeon, and passed with his men over a corner of the lands claimed by the Bondelswarts of Warmbad. Whereupon Willem Christian, the Bondelswart chief, wrote him a strong letter of protest. "Such circumstances," says Willem, "are likely to cause dissatisfaction"; and if the "dear captain" required anything in his area it was only right first to apply for permission to enter, and to await the reply before doing anything. This would have avoided "misunderstandings"; "for it is beyond my comprehension that one chief should enter another chief's area without notifying him and making a request."[2]

On the whole, therefore, it would seem that although every Hottentot tribe had a claim, established by long exploitation, over a certain stretch of land, other tribes might seek and obtain permission not only to pass through this territory, but even to make use of its water and pastures, on condition that the prior rights of the resident tribe were recognized and acknowledged. Permission might, of course, be refused, and sometimes was, when war would probably result if encroachment nevertheless took place. But the extensive wanderings of the different Cape Hottentot tribes in the early days of the Dutch settlement imply that here, at least, little objection was raised as a

[1] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.* (Cd. 9146), 70, 77–6; Hoernlé, op. cit., 4.
[2] *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 76.

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rule to intrusion, so long as sufficient grass and water were available for all.

Of the sentiments of the Hottentots towards their land we have but little information. Mrs. Hoernlé, in one of her recent papers, maintains that even to-day the old tribal land is still closely connected in the minds of the people with their ancestors. The ghosts of the *//naon*, the ancestors, haunt any old locality occupied by the tribe, and anybody visiting such a place must protect himself against them and propitiate them if he is to escape. "Thus, ten years ago," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "I visited, with a native guide, a spot which had long been deserted by the Topnaars. It was a long day's journey up and down great sand dunes, and both I and my guide caught bad colds. The next day my guide's wife came to see me, shaking her head wisely. 'I knew I should find you ill,' she said, 'and I have been scolding my husband, who should have known better. When you got to Wortel you should have gone straight to the water, and put a stripe of wet clay on your legs and on your forehead, and then you should have said:—

Ti ||Naoan !Hans
!Gaisi !khai hm se re
aike mutse

My ancestors' territory
Run nicely to meet me
I see you first.

Then all would have been well.'" "The important thing here," continues Mrs. Hoernlé, "is that one begs the goodwill of the spirits, claims relationship with them, and enters once more into possession of the old tribal territory by contact with its waters."

A similar ceremony takes place when a Nama goes visiting relatives in another tribe. The head of the kraal visited must take wet clay and soot from the pot, and put a broad stripe on the visitor's forehead, so that he may be able to "eat nicely and drink nicely". "Here it would seem," remarks Mrs. Hoernlé, "that the stranger is given the protection of the society into which he has entered, and is free from danger that might otherwise beset him in a strange place. The preceding example shows perhaps what the danger is, namely, the hostile */Hai /Nan* [ghosts of dead people], and this example makes a little clearer the nature of the protection sought when one is visiting an old locality of the tribe. One identifies oneself with the place and its spirits, and so gets protection and support instead of hostility."[1]

From the facts just noted, one would almost have expected to find the fear of hostile ancestral spirits acting both as a guarantee of possession to the resident tribe and as a sort of supernatural restraint

[1] "The Social Value of Water among the Naman", 319–20.

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Chapter XII

REGULATION OF PUBLIC LIFE

Political Institutions

642 Like most other aspects of their culture, the political organization
177 of the Hottentots in recent times shows to a considerable extent the signs of Dutch influence. For information as to their original form of government we must therefore refer mainly to the accounts of the earlier writers. Here, again, our principal authority is Kolb, who describes the political institutions of the Cape Hottentots more fully and explicitly than does any other observer.

643 He states[1] that at the head of every tribe there was a chief, *kouqui*
● 619 or *khoequa*, whose office was hereditary in the male line. The normal
622 heir to the chieftainship was the eldest son of the ruling chief. Failing a son, the office passed to the nearest male relative, such as a brother or a brother's son, but never to a daughter. The new chief at his accession had to pledge himself before an assembly of the "captains" of the tribe to preserve all the old laws and traditions of the people, and not to interfere with any established rights and prerogatives.
[5N] He had also to slaughter a couple of sheep or an ox as a feast for the "captains". Only these men and himself ate of the meat, while the broth was given to their wives. On the following day or on some suitable occasion a similar feast was provided by his wife for the wives of the captains. This time the meat was eaten by the women, and the broth given to their husbands. There is no other record of any installation ceremony connected with the chieftainship, so that the accuracy of Kolb's statements in this respect cannot be vouched for.

643 The functions of the chief were apparently purely political. He
619 led the army in war, he conducted the negotiations of peace, and he
622 presided over the tribal council. The latter was the real governing body of the tribe. It consisted of the "captains" or headmen of
645 all the different local groups constituting the tribe, and was summoned by the chief to his residence whenever any matter of public importance arose. It dealt with all such questions as peace and war, disputes

[1] *Reize naar Vorgebirge der Goede Hoffnung*, 42–4; cf. Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 321–2.

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between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority.

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognized headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal.

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their karosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public

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643 554 [224] revenue. It appears, however, from the report of an expedition made to the Inqua in 1689 under the leadership of Ensign Schrijver, that in this tribe at least there was a regulation that anyone killing game in the chase might not eat of it until he had made a present to the chief. In ignorance of this custom one of Schrijver's party shot a bird and cooked it, whereupon the chief expressed displeasure and refused to carry on any more barter with the Dutch travellers. As soon as Schrijver was made aware of the circumstance and of the tribal usage, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.[1] There is no other record of any similar prerogative of the chief's, so that one cannot say whether the usage just described existed in the other Cape Hottentot tribes as well. Kolb, as we have noted, says that no tribute at all was paid to the chief: he lived, like any ordinary tribesman, upon the milk of his cattle, and there is nothing to indicate that he was necessarily more wealthy than anybody else. He might be accorded a good deal of respect, but there is no mention of any special etiquette or ceremonial observed towards him.

642 618 619 622 Kolb's description, inadequate though it is from many points of view, shows clearly that among the Cape Hottentots the local groups were to a large extent autonomous, although the important affairs of the tribe as a whole were regulated by their headmen in council. Some light is thrown upon this by Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis of the social organization of the Naman. It will be remembered from this that every Hottentot tribe as a rule was scattered over the country in smaller groups, each group consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. The chief of the tribe was the head of the senior clan, and if a man of fine character could command a good deal of respect; but the heads of the other clans acted as his council, and he could not do much without their co-operation. The bonds holding together the clans to form a tribe were never very strong, and often enough a powerful clan would assert its independence of the others, and in time become recognized as a separate tribe, with its own headman as chief. In all probability the "captains" referred to by Kolb were such headmen of clans of the tribe, and, as we shall see later, in actual fact the different local divisions of the Cape Hottentot tribes were only loosely connected together, and would often act independently of one another, at times even against one another. The Dutch practice of treating these headmen or "captains" as more or less

[1] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, iii, 111.

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autonomous petty rulers naturally tended to accentuate the feeling of independence. At the same time it also gave the "captain" a more prominent position as an individual than he really seems to have occupied in the original conditions of native life.

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As Kolb's description also brings out, the whole conduct of public affairs was the concern of the adult men generally, and, as appears from the descriptions of other writers, of the older men in particular. The chief, by virtue of his hereditary status, was the recognized head of the community, but his authority was circumscribed and precarious, and he could not act without consulting his council. It seems indeed, that in most cases he must be looked upon as the political representative rather than as the actual ruler of the tribe. There is nothing in the literature to indicate that he had any other special functions. Neither Kolb nor any other writer records any important religious or magical ceremonies which the chief had to perform on behalf of the tribe, any definite prohibitions or obligations regulating the relations between him and his subjects, or any ritual performances or taboos to which he was specially subjected. The sacred character often associated with the chieftainship in primitive society does not appear to have existed among the Hottentots.

642 177

The political organization of the Naman was in all probability originally the same as that of their southern relatives. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century, from which time onwards most of the relevant literature dates, the old form of government among the Orlams was being slowly altered into a crude modification of the system developed by the Dutch at the Cape. The influence of these incoming groups, and to some extent also of the missionaries, gradually affected the form of political institutions in the other Nama tribes as well. The system of tribal control found among them within recent years, although based upon the old native system, can therefore by no means be regarded as representing that system in its original form. It is nevertheless of considerable interest as illustrating the grafting of European elements upon Hottentot organization, and since it is in any case an integral part of the tribal life it cannot be ignored. The information bearing upon it is also more detailed and accurate than that relating to the Cape Hottentots, which it serves to supplement in several respects.[1]

[1] The principal sources are: Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 101–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 218–21; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 357–9; *Report on the Natives of S.W.A.*, 72–4, 76 and *passim*; cf. also Tindall, *Great Namaqualand*, 33–4; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 24; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin," 322–4; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 321; Vedder, "The Nama," 142.

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628 in case of accidental death the relatives of the deceased would demand compensation in cattle. The murderer also had to slaughter a cow
[783] for a purification meal to which he invited his relatives and friends and those of the deceased. He himself was not allowed to eat of the meat, which was consumed by the guests, but was smeared with the blood as a sign of expiation. Von Burgsdorff (Kohler's informant) says, on the other hand, that the blood feud was exercised even when the death was accidental, and that the deed could in no way be compounded. Deliberate murder always provoked blood vengeance. The nearest male relative of the dead man had to seek out the murderer and kill him. If the murderer himself could not be got at, one of his clansmen, preferably a close relative, could be killed in his stead. If the avenger fell in the fight, his next relative had to carry on the feud; while if there were no close relative to avenge the murdered man, his clansmen would feel it an obligation to do so. The formal trial and punishment of a murderer by the tribal council is probably an institution of later days, but we have not enough information about the blood feud to determine the exact relation between these two forms of dealing with homicide.

Inter-Tribal Relations

Tribal Seniority

619 It has already been shown, in the course of our discussion, that the nomadic pastoral life of the Hottentots, conditioned by the need
621 of grass and water for their herds, compelled them to live and move in compact, often widely-separated communities. As soon as any group became so large that permanent cohesion and common movement proved impossible or even inconvenient, a swarm was of necessity thrown off, which moved to a distance in order to acquire a new pasture of sufficient extent for its use. In this way, for example, the members of a Nama tribe would become scattered over the country in smaller groups, each consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. Such an offshoot might continue to regard itself at first as part of the parent tribe, but as it gradually increased in numbers and strength it would tend to claim independence and ultimately win acknowledgment as a separate tribe.

619 Thus, as we have seen, the seven principal tribes of the indigenous
648 Naman of South-West Africa are all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors, although in spite of this claim to a common ancestry the tribes have for a long time been independent of one

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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another. But in 1836 the //Haboben were still part of the people owing obedience to the !Gami /Nun chief, while as late as 1855 the chief of the Gei //Khauan expected the //Khau /Goan to obey his orders concerning migrations, etc., although they did not always do so.[1] The Gei //Khauan are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them in line of descent. This acknowledgment, according to Hahn, formerly took the form of a tribute sent annually to the chief of this tribe by all the other Nama chiefs. In 1856 even the Korana chief Pofadder came to do homage to the Gei //Khauan chief Oasib, acknowledging that his tribe, the "Springboks", were a branch of the Gei //Khauan. The last tribute of this kind, which consisted generally in a heifer, *buchu*, spears, copper or iron beads, and milk pails, was paid in 1863.[2]

The official records of the Cape and the accounts of the early Dutch travellers show that among the Cape Hottentots the same tendency existed for groups to branch off and arrogate to themselves the title of separate tribes. Many of the tribes, at the time when they first came into contact with the Dutch, consisted of several distinct divisions, more or less loosely connected together, though all tending to become independent in course of time. Of the local groups found by the Dutch in the immediate vicinity of Table Bay, all, whether Goringhaiqua or Korachouqua, were originally members of one tribe, of which Gogosoa was regarded as the principal chief. This whole tribe, again, seems at one time to have been dependent on the Kochoqua, from whom it subsequently broke away, as was also the case with the Chariguriqua. The Kochoqua themselves in 1652 were found divided into two distinct branches, the senior under a chief named Oedasoa, who considered himself paramount, and the other under Gonnema.[3]

In the same way, the Afrikaners (*//Aixa //Ain*), an Orlam tribe, are said to be an old branch of the present !Aman or Bethanie Hottentots (Amaqua or Chamaqua of the Cape Records), who formerly lived between the Berg and Olifants River in Cape Colony. The !Aman again are a branch of the *//Khauan* (Chauqua of the Cape Records), who lived originally in what is now the district of Worcester in the Cape. The Amraal Hottentots (*Gei //Khauan*) and the Berseba

[1] Hoernlé, "Social Organisation of the Nama," 5, quoting Alexander, op. cit., i, 187, 197, and *Berichte der Rheinischen Mission*, 1858, 18.
[2] *Tsuni-//Goam*, 97.
[3] Snow, *Native Races*, 241–3; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, i, *passim*; Theal, *History of S. Africa before 1795*, ii, *passim*.

2: Schapera, E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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619 Hottentots (*/Hei //Khauan*) are also derived from this tribe, as their
648 names indicate.[1]

It appears from the early records that the greater number of the Cape Hottentot tribes were more or less connected with the *//Khauan*, and acknowledged this tribe as paramount over them. Its principal branch in the middle of the seventeenth century was the Chainoqua, whose chief Soesoa or Sousa visited the Dutch settlement in 1660. Of his reception there by the other Hottentots Stow says, paraphrasing the official records[2]: "Sousa was held in such awe by those of other clans that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects dared come to trade as long as he remained near the fort. They made way for him, and waited upon him with presents of many cattle, to show the respect they owed to the highest king. That his authority was not merely nominal was shown by the fact of his interference in a quarrel between Choro, the chief of the 'Kora-chouqua, and Gonnema, the captain of a branch of the Cochoqua. They had parted in anger, the former having cunningly taken away the wife of the latter. War was imminent between them, until Sousa, the paramount chief, interfered, and threatened to degrade the one who was in the wrong. Such an acknowledgment of his supremacy by the chiefs of the other tribes would make it seem highly probable that the one over which he ruled represented the main trunk of the Hottentot race, from which all the others have been offshoots."

619 The early Dutch records throw some light on the political inter-
648 relations of the Cape Hottentot tribes. The headmen or "captains"
643 of divisions not long formed recognized the supremacy in rank of the
622 head of the community from which they had branched off, and acknowledged him as their paramount chief, but unless he happened to be a man of stronger character than the others he exercised no real power over them. The petty chiefs, or heads of the local groups or clans, were commonly jealous of one another, and only united their strength in case of extreme danger to all, while on occasion they might even fight amongst themselves. There appear to have been constant jealousies and quarrels between them and between the tribes, with occasional raids upon each other's cattle and eloping with one another's
619 wives. "This latter amusement," says Stow, perhaps exaggerating
648 somewhat, but having a real foundation for his remark, "seems to have been a common occurrence among them, and thus became an endless

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 96–7, 19.
[2] Op. cit., 243–4; cf. Godée-Molsbergen, op. cit., i, 40–1.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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cause of turmoil and inter-tribal feuds."[1] Often the weaker tribes were reduced to great poverty and distress. New combinations would then be formed, and the victors of one year frequently became the vanquished of the next; but the bonds of cohesion were frail, and even a slight shock was usually sufficient to break up the alliance —an event repeatedly noted in the relations of the Hottentots with the early Dutch settlers.

The same capricious and unstable element runs through the history of the Nama tribes and their relations towards one another. "On the one hand," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document, signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice."[2] Even the bonds holding the clans together to form a tribe were never very strong, still less was there any possibility for the tribes to be welded together to form a nation.

Treatment of Strangers

Visitors as a rule can pass freely from one tribe to another. Such visits were common amongst the Hottentots themselves, even in the early days, especially between families connected by marriage. There is no mention of any distinctive ceremonial reception accorded to these native visitors, apart from the special rite, recorded by Mrs. Hoernlé, which serves to protect the stranger from the hostile ghosts of the place. Organized trading visits from one Hottentot tribe to another do not appear to have occurred to any extent, if at all. But, as we have seen, both Bantu peoples and Bergdama would come

[1] Op. cit., 241.
[2] Op. cit., 24. The document referred to, drawn up in 1858, is translated in the *Report on the Administration of S.W. Africa*, 1922.

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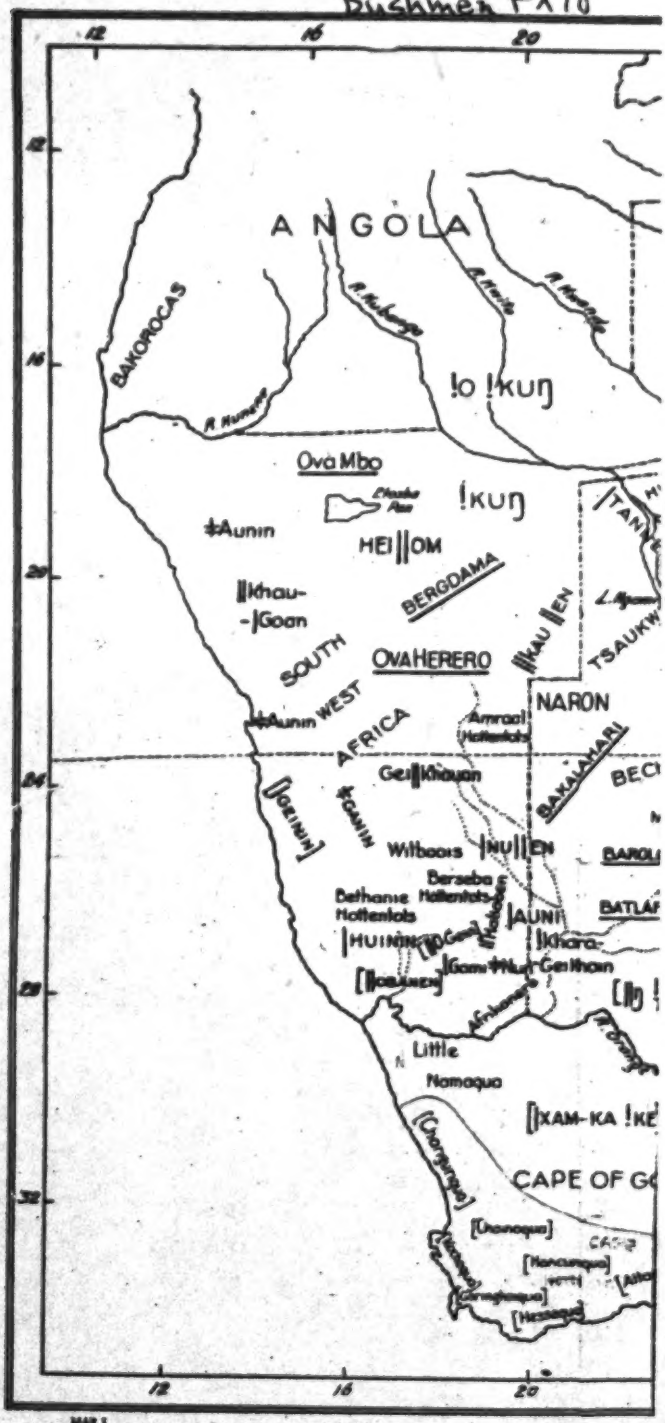

[facing p. 446 (a)]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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[facing p. 446 (4)]

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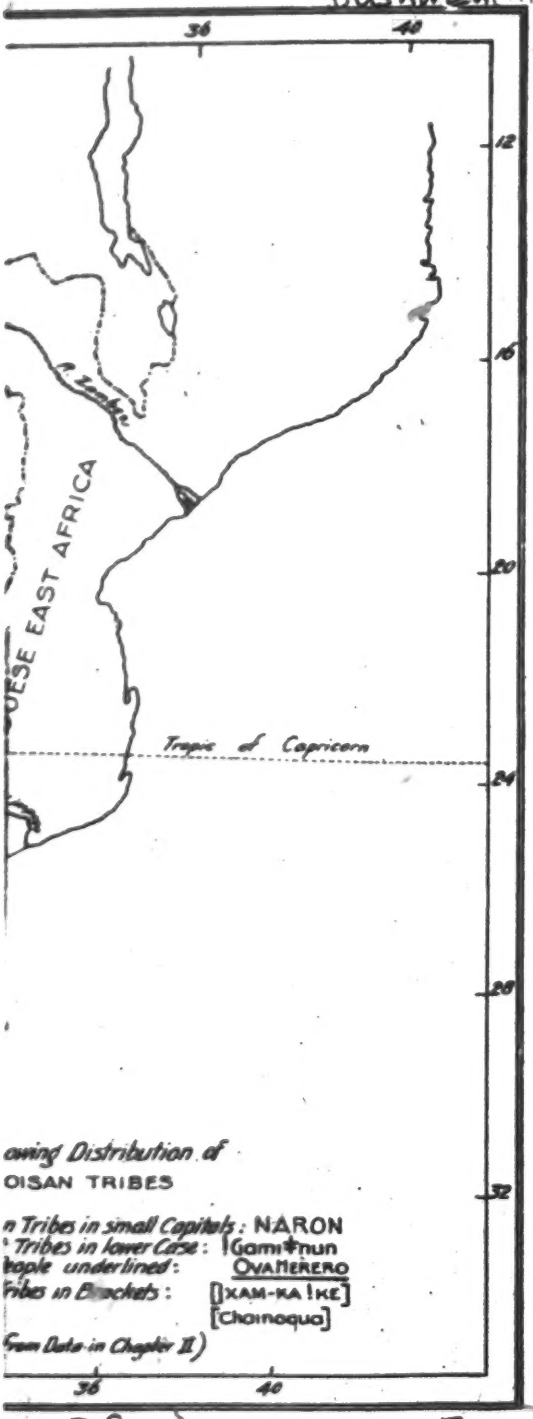

[facing p. 446 (c)]

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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161 blood, and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartboois, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 3000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

619 361 The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarts, and a small one for the Swartboois in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khara Gei Khoin*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

178 It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

128 The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

621 614 If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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602 It will be seen from the account given of the kinship system and the "behavior patterns" accompanying kinship terms that the type of behavior which is expected of a person by another is directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them, so that a knowledge of these relationships is essential for an understanding of the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people.

619 There is just one other subject on which a few remarks may be appropriate. The relation of the tribes towards one another has been throughout the history of the Hottentots most capricious. On the one hand, one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document,[14] signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and to unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice. So the Nama, and the Hottentots in general, are coming to be a people whose history lies all in the past, whose tribal organization is totally disrupted, and whose distinctive culture is becoming a thing unknown even to themselves, because of their failure to hold together, and to face the incoming cultures with a strong feeling of group solidarity.

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[14] Drawn up in 1858. Translated in the Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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Thus the migrations of the Hottentots reveal the same characteristics which we find later in the migrating Herero. The Herero also moved southwards, after having crossed the Kunene. 174

The main force pushed down as far as the Swakop and wandered about in the pastures north of the Swakop, the southern part having already been occupied by the Hottentots. But the poorer Herero did not move down so far, but remained in the Kaokoveld up to this very day.

4. The names of those Hottentot tribes which migrated into the Cape Colony have partly been preserved in old documents, but unfortunately the spelling of the names of these tribes is so inaccurate that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct spelling of the names according to the Hottentot pronunciation, is no longer possible. Almost all names were written, not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person, masc., plur., which is ga in the accusative but gua in antique pronunciation, changed by old writers to qua which merely means "belonging to the masculine sex"—an indication of the small importance of the women in these nomadic tribes. 175 619

5. The following are the names of the different tribes (in the old spelling), that migrated into the region south of the Orange River:—

(i) Hesequa in the present district of Caledon;

(ii) Gochoqua in the vicinity of Saldanha Bay;

(iii) Namaqua, north of the Hesequa.

(iv) Gorinhaiqua known as the "Kapliden."

(v) Gorona, also written Goraqua, Gorachonqua, whose real name is !Khora, out of which Koranna has been made through the omission of the click and the addition of the suffix for the 3rd pers., plur., com. acc.

They led a roving life in the country between the Orange and Vaal. In 1813 the Rev. Mr. Campbell found them in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Lithako. Later on they settled in Bethanie under influence of the Berlin Mission. In 1850 the tribe still consisted of approximately 20,000 souls under 17 chiefs. In 1870 the tribe had practically died out.

(vi) Damaqua who roamed about the Great Fish River.

(vii) Gonaqua, nomads on the Gamtoos River, probably as important as Gonnema, discussed elsewhere.

(viii) Chainouqua, often called "Kapmans."

(ix) Attaqua.

(x) Outeniqua, between the Gamtoos and Breede Rivers. Lichtenstein refers to them as the Uteniga, doing more justice to the phonetic sounds in the name of the tribe.

(xi) Hancoumqua in the Eastern Cape Province.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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(xii) Chariguriqua in the neighbourhood of St. Helena Bay. Obviously it is the same tribe elsewhere called the Gouriqua, from which the word Grigriqua is formed. The real name of the tribe was ǂKari-huriqua = *i.e.*, the small (=ǂKari-) tribe which lives at the sea (-hurib = sea). This tribe was afterwards known under the name Griqua. In 1713 Peter Kolbe found them near St. Helena Bay. During the first half of the 18th century they wandered about in the neighbourhood of the present Clanwilliam. By then they had European blood in them. Later they mixed with nomadic Bastards. Consequently they called themselves Bastards with pride till Campbell induced them in 1813 to re-adopt their old, unfortunately mutilated and almost forgotten, name of Griqua.

Under their chief, Adam Kok, they founded Griquatown in 1813.

6. Van Riebeek, the first Dutch Commander at the Cape, says of these Hottentots, that, generally speaking, they had as much intelligence as the common Hollander but were more cautious and more cunning than the latter and well knew how to take advantage of every opportunity.

The East India Company exercised great care in the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Hottentots.

Later developments and the inland migration of the Europeans caused the Hottentot tribes to retreat partly to the North, across the Orange River, to settle in the territories of their countrymen who had stayed behind, and to be partly absorbed by the mongrel races which had come into being in the meantime in the Cape Colony.

At present pure Hottentot tribes are found only in South-West Africa.

7. Eight tribes which did not cross the Orange River with their emigrating countrymen, but had wandered about between the Orange and Swakop Rivers, each separate tribe having taken possession of a large territory, settled in South-West Africa during the time of the old Hottentot emigrations. Six of these tribes entered into an alliance and formed a loosely-knitted entity under the leadership of the //Khauben. These, living in the centre of the territory, seem to have had a number of able leaders and chiefs.

The //Khauben, also called Gei-//Khaun, are now well-known under the name "Rode Natie." The allied tribes were called, and to this day call themselves, /Áwa-khoin = Red people.

The names of the allied tribes are:

(i) //Khauben, also Gei-//Khaun or Rode Natie, with capital Hatsamas. The survivors of these tribes are now resident at Hoachanas. Among the twelve chiefs, whose names are still doubtful, Chief //Oaseb

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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was very prominent. As he was still under age at the time his father died, his sister, Games, took over the reign till he became of age. Thus in the years 1830-1840 this remarkable event came to pass that a woman ruled over six Hottentot tribes.

(ii) !Kara-gai-khoin also called "Franschmannsche Hottentots," known later as the Simon-Koper-Leute. They dwelt on the Oub River.

(iii) !Kara-!ôan, whose pastures were on the Chamob River.

(iv) //Hawobe, whose tribal name should be translated into "Veldschoendragers" under which name they are referred to frequently in literature. They were domiciled North of (iii).

(v) //Khan-/gôan, *i.e.*, children of the tribe of the //Khauben, also called the "Zwartboois." They were stationed temporarily in Rehoboth till 1870, whence they removed to Ameib in the country of the Herero and are at present settled at Franzfontein in the southern part of the Kaokoveld.

(vi) //O-gein, *i.e.*, Groot-doden. Their former pastures were those on the upper course of the Fish River. Half a century ago this tribe ceased to exist as a result of the wars against the Herero and the tribal quarrels.

These tribes, under the leadership of the //Khauben or the *Rode Natie*, claimed possession, on the grounds of tradition, of the whole territory bordering on Lake Ngami in the East, the Chamob River in the South, the Atlantic Ocean in the West and the Omaruru River and Amboland in the North.

(vii) Besides these six allied tribes the ≠Ounin, also called !Gomen or !Naranin, known as the "Topnaars" from the translation of ≠Ounin, were settled in the territory of Walvis Bay. Probably these constitute the remnants of earlier coast-tribes. Hundreds of years ago their territory was still of vast dimensions. When Missionary Schmelen visited Okahandja and Walvis Bay in 1825, he found that the herds of the "Topnaars" were grazing as far as Okahandja. By the Herero in the North and West as well as by the Nama in the South this tribe was later confined to the small and barren territory of Walvis Bay.

(viii) The last of the free tribes are the !Gami-≠nun or Bondelswartz who have retained their pastures in the South of Namaland, on the Orange River, and their old capital at Warmbad up to this day.

8. As the colonization of the Cape Colony by Europeans progressed, the Hottentot tribes, wandering about there, lost their desired freedom of action. Those who had absorbed

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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175 619 European blood or who had been servants on farms, etc., and had come in contact with western civilization and who could partly make themselves understood in the Dutch language, gradually migrated to the North, for they knew that beyond the Orange River their countrymen were still enjoying unlimited freedom.

So we see Hottentot settlements arise on the southern bank of the Orange River and missionaries hard at work trying to evangelise those who had emigrated. At Pella and other places flourishing Hottentot communities came into existence. But as the boundaries of the Cape Colony were extended to include them and besides Small Namaland was suffering from severe drought, in one year five rather large tribes crossed the Orange River in order to obtain land and pasturage in Great Namaland.

These emigrations from the Cape Colony were not of entire tribes, for amongst the names of the immigrating tribes we find none of the twelve tribes which we have already met in the Cape Colony. These migrations took place in this way: Any influential and strong personality would set out with some followers. On the way others, who were not satisfied with existing circumstances or who could no more reside in the Cape Colony as cattle thieves, because things got too hot for them or the boundaries too narrow, joined this leader.

As has already been said, most of them settled in Little Namaland which they were passing through on their way to cross the Orange River to look for a new fatherland in South-West, where they were called the "Orlams.'

9. The derivation and the meaning of the word "Orlam" has not yet been determined. Professor Mansvelt traces this word back to the Malay language and says that during the régime of the East India Company the conventional Indian word for old and trustworthy servants was "Orang lami" = old people, and that this name has been assigned to Hottentot servants who were in settled employment.

The fact is that to-day the name Orlam is still used in a figurative sense for a handy and clever Nama in South-West Africa.

The Orlam tribe, containing many hybrids of Dutch descent, who had adopted something of European civilization, possessing horses and supplied even with firearms, made on the Nama who had never been in contact with civilization, the impression that they were highly developed people.

That the meaning "Oorlandse mense" is also attached to the word Orlam by the Nama would lead one to believe that the word means foreigners, people coming from across the Orange River, *i.e.*, people who are "further off."

10. The five Orlam tribes have the following names:—

(i) /Khowesin; who emigrated from the Cape Colony, under their leader Kido Witbooi, and stayed at the

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missionary station at Pella on the southern bank of the Orange River for quite a long time. By 1810 they had already crossed the Orange River and were roving about in the territory of the Fish River without fixed stations. They were called Witboois after their leader. Some Christians among them insisted upon the founding of a fixed abode. Such a place was ultimately established at Kocha-tsus, in the present Gibeon. In the year 1862 they settled there and in 1863 a station of the Rhenish Mission was founded among them. As the Witboois observed strict neutrality as far as the tribal quarrels amongst the Nama were concerned, they had to suffer much from raids of the *Rode Natie*. Could anyone then foresee that within a few decades the rule over the Nama tribe would be transferred from the Red Nation into the hands of the Witboois?

(ii) Gei-/Khauan or Amraal Hottentots, who settled at Nausannabis and in the eastern part of the Herero country, later in Gobabis.

(iii) ǂKari-/Khauan, or Berseba Hottentots, now resident at the foot of the Broekkaross.

(iv) !Aman, or Hottentots of Bethanie.

These three tribes, the Gei-/Khauan, ǂKari-/Khauan and !Aman seem to have left the Cape Colony at the same time. For a time most of them settled in Little Namaland at the missionary stations Pella, Steinkopf and Komaagas. During that time grazing conditions were very bad there.

Schmelen, the German missionary of the London Missionary Society, urged them to migrate further into South-West. By order of his Society he left Little Namaland in 1814 and following the course of the //Gôa-/geb, now called the Konkip River, he, with a great number of the Orlams, settled at /Ui-ǂganis in Great Namaland, which place he called Bethanie. Later on Amraal Lamberts and his people the Gei-/Khauan migrated to Nausannabis and Gobabis.

The !Aman remained in Bethanie and the +Kari-/khauan, under missionary influence, settled at the foot of the Broekkaross in Berseba.

(v) The last Orlams who crossed the Orange River had the tribal name of the //Aicha-//ain=angry tribe. Their tribal history is very typical and may be sketched here.

In the Tulbagh district the so-called !Hantam there lived a little chief, !Garuchamab by name, during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Between the years 1790-95 he left Tulbagh to settle permanently in the !Hantam near the present Calvinia. He had two sons, /Hôa-/arab and Titus.

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After the death of his father, /Hôa-/arab, with his brother as well as his followers went to stay with a farmer called Pienaar. This man gave him another name which could be pronounced more easily and called him Afrikaner. Pienaar treated his people badly, and it came to a rupture. Titus shot his master and Afrikaner's relations murdered Pienaar's wife and children and, fleeing, they drove all the cattle in the direction of the Orange River, not to be within reach of the Police and to be safeguarded against prosecution. These people possessed many rifles, for Pienaar, as farm Police, used to take his people with him on his notorious raids in order to clear the neighbourhood of Hottentot and Bushmen thieves.

These firearms gave this tribe a great superiority over their neighbours at the Orange River. They invaded Afrikanerkraal on the southern bank of the Orange River. Even Warmbad was assaulted by the Afrikaners and the missionary station burnt down.

The Cape Government set a price of £150 on Jager's head. While stationed at Afrikanerkraal Jager came in contact with some missionaries. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, was working there from September, 1817, up to October, 1818, after the missionary Ebner had christened Jager and a number of his people on the 23rd July, 1815. In the year 1819 Jager, who was henceforth called Christian, made a journey to Cape Town in company of his missionary, where he was received by the Governor himself, pardoned and presented with a gift. Jager, alias Christian, died in the year 1823. He had conferred the Chieftainship on his energetic son Jonker, although it was not due to him. Jonker secured the greatest part of the retinue and moved northward, led a nomadic life and ultimately settled in Windhoek, where he subjugated the Herero and brought the Nama under his sway and died in Okahandja in 1861. His grave is covered with a heap of almost unrecognisable stones, just as the tribe of this "Napoleon of the South" has vanished without glory or even leaving a trace.

III. Wars and Decline.

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1. Shortly after the invasion of the Orlam in about the year 1830, strenuous fighting was going on between the Nama and the Herero.

The Herero exhibited a tendency to rove further and further south and their cattle were already grazing as far as the territory of Rehoboth. The Nama, whose pastures had

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship. 593 576

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc. 551 [619]

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos. 291

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls. [177]

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found. 302 [515]

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days. [341] [843]

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers. 574

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers. [576]

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On 571 536 [521]

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KAFFRARIA OR LAND OF THE KAFIRS, OTHERWISE NAMED HOTTENTOTS.

The country or land of Kaffraria (or, according to Marmol,[1]) Quefreria) is so named after the Kafirs, its native inhabitants. They are commonly known to our countrymen as Hottentoos or Hottentots, because their language is so clumsy and difficult;[2]) and they live without any laws of religion.

* * *

The land of Kaffraria, although not divided into any special kingdoms of which we know, is nevertheless inhabited by different indigenous peoples. Some of them are governed by kings and some by chiefs, while others live in the wilds without any leader at all. I shall describe several of these peoples, together with their customs, government, religion and other characteristics, as far as these have come to our knowledge from some reports recently sent over by men who have dwelt in those parts for some time.[3])

The principal peoples, then, whom our countrymen have up till now discovered in this southernmost portion of Africa, are the following:[4]) the Gorachouquas, Goringhai-

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[1]) *Description general de Affrica*, by Luis del Marmol Carvajal. 3 vols. Granada and Malaga, 1573-99. (French trans., Paris, 1667.)

[2]) See below, p. 71.

[3]) On Dapper's sources of information, see above, p. 2.

[4]) In the Cape records of this period the names of the Hottentot tribes and clans are spelt in a variety of different ways. All, however, are obviously so inaccurate that the correct vernacular according to Hottentot pronunciation are no longer obtainable, now that the tribes concerned have ceased to exist. The names as given above are all written without the clicks, and most of them have the suffix for the third masc. plur. (-qua, -kwa, or -qui) or, sometimes, for the common plur. (-sa). The forms given by Dapper are for the most part identical with those used by van Riebeeck in the "Instructions" he left for his successor (Leibbrandt, *Precis of the Cape Archives: Letters Despatched*, 1652-1662, vol. iii, 239-42), except that *k* has been uniformly substituted for *c*. Van Riebeeck in his list (loc. cit.) describes briefly the following tribes: Goringhaiconas, Goringhaiquas, Gorachouquas, Cochoquas, Little (and Great) Chariguriquas, Namaquas, Chainouquas, Heumaquas, and Hancumquas; and mentions also the Chamaquas, Omaquas, Aliquas, Houtumquas, and Chanquas. "After these is said to begin . . . another race of men, called . . . Chobogua or Chobona." Wagenaar, in a similar memorandum written four years later (1666), mentions only the first nine of these (Moodie, *The Record*, Part I, 261).

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De drie eerste volken, als de *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas* en *Goringhaikonas*, leggen meest al dicht aen de Kaep, niet boven vier of vijf uuren gaens van het Fort van goeder hope, inzonderheit de *Goringhaikonas* of Watermans, die maer een vierendeel uur gaens verre afgelegen zijn.

GORINGHAIKONAS

De *Goringhaikonas*, of watermans, staen onder eenen oversten, genaemt by hen *Demtad*, en by d'onzen *Klaes Das*, om dat hy eens op het Dassen eilant gevangen en gebannen zy geweest, over zekeren misdaet, aen de Neerlanders gepleeght; maer is naderhant, door zich zelven wel te dragen, ontslaekt, en in zijne oude heerschappye gestelt. Zy hebben een leger slechts van vier of vijf huizen, zijn omtrent vijftigh zielen, met vrouw en kinderen, in getale sterk, en de armste onder alle de *Hottentots*.

GORACHOUQUAS

De *Gorachouquas*, by d'onzen genaemt Tabaks-dieven, ter oorzake zy op zekeren tijt daer te lande al de Tabaks-planten van zekeren vryen landtbouwer van het velt hebben wegh-gestolen, en noch heden daer in volharden, zijn ontrent drie of vier hondert weer-bare mannen sterk, behalve vrou en kinderen, en erneren zich met schoon vee van schapen en koe-beesten.

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[a]) In Van Riebeeck's "Dagverhaal" (henceforth referred to as DJ) and other contemporary records the name also appears in the forms Goringycona, Goeringaycona, Goringhaicoina, etc. Wuras (*Bantu Studies*, iii, 239) interprets it as "children (or descendants)" of the Goringhaiqua (q.v.), from whom they had broken away. Van Riebeeck (*Letters Despatched*, iii, 239) refers to them as beachrangers and fishermen; exclusive of their wives and children, they did not number more than eighteen; they had no cattle, but lived by fishing and collecting, and by doing various menial services for the Dutch. Theal says they were the only permanent inhabitants of the Cape Peninsula at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded in 1652 (*History of S. Afr. before* 1795, ii, 13).

[b]) In the first years of the Cape settlement the accepted leader of the Goringhaikona was the famous Herry or Harry (see below, p. 16n); after his death in 1663 they were nominally under the government of Jan Cou (Theal, *op. cit.*, 197), whose Hottentot name was "Khamy" (D. July 8, 1658). I have been unable to find any evidence in the official records to corroborate Dapper's statement that Klaas Das was the chief of this group. This man with some other Hottentots had "of their own accord" accompanied

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quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karichuriquas, Hosaas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudyns, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

GORINGHAIKONAS.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen[5]) are under a chief, whose native name is Demtaä, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,[6]) because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

GORACHOUQUAS.

The Gorachouquas[7]) our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

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the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 12, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Herry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at the Fort (D. Sept. 18, 1655). There is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1656) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 8, 1659).

[7]) Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Ghorachouquas, Goerachouqua, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 106-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (-choqua or khaikhoa, men. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

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Zy staen onder eenen overste, met name *Chora*, die eenen broeder heeft, geheten *Gaking*, beide gaende in besmeerde vellen, dat grote rijkdom van vee in heeft.

GORINGHAIQUAS

De *Goringhaiquas*, by d'onzen Kaepmans genaemt, om dat zy het naeste altijts van al de *Hottentots* aen de kaep van goeder hope gewoont hebben, en zich die plaets als eigen toe-schrijven, zoo lang d'onzen daer geweest zijn, mogen in volkrijkheit tegen de *Gorachouquas* op, en beide ontrent duizend weerbare mannen uitmaeken, bewonende ontrent vijf-en-tnegentigh huizen of hutten, met matten overdekt.

De *Goringhaiquas* staen onder eenen overste, by hen genaemt *Gogosoa*, maer by d'onzen de dikke kapitein, om zijn overgroten dikken en neerhangenden buik, zulx zijn naem met het wezen en gestalte des lijfs wonder wel over een komt.

Hy was in 't jaer zestien hondert en twee-en-zestigh, na het overschrijven der genen, die zich toen aldaer bevonden, wel hondert jaer out, en had twee zonen, de oudste genaemt *Osinghaikanna*, en d'andere *Otegnoa*, welke hunnen vader, insonderheit de oudste, altijts hebben zoeken t'overheren, en geheel meester te spelen, met aenwendingh van alle middelen om dezen ouden *Gogosoa*, hunnen vader, van kant te helpen, en door dit middel de heerschappye vervolgens op den oudste, en voorts op den tweden te laten komen.

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[8]) The incident is mentioned in van Riebeeck's journal, March 11, 1657. In the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by the Hottentot girl Eva, the "Chorachouqua" are first identified as "the tobacco thieves, the fellows who stole the tobacco out of the freemen's gardens" (D. Oct. 31, 1657).

[9]) Dapper's information is wrong; van Riebeeck says that "exclusive of women and children these Gorachouquas number from six to seven hundred men capable of bearing arms" (*Letters Despatched*, iii, 240).

[8a]) Also mentioned in the records as Choeringaina, Goeringaiqua, Goringhoina, etc., a name which Wuras (*op cit.*, 288) translates as "those who dip water out of fountains," but which Maingard (*op. cit.*, 111) suggests with more probability as being equivalent to *!kurin //aikwa*, or "proud people," one of the later Korana tribes. Together with the Goringhaikona and Gorachouqua they constituted a single tribe, of which their leader Gogosoa was the principal chief; but it is evident enough from the early records that these different sections were continually bickering and fighting amongst themselves.

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from the fields of some free farmers over there;[8]) and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[9]) and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gaking; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

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GORINGHAIQUAS.

The Goringhaiquas[10]) our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[11]) and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Gogosoa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[12]). In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the older named Osinghaikanna and the other Otegnoa.[13]) They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Gogosoa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[14])

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[11])van Riebeeck (*Letters Desp.*, iii, 239) gives their numbers as "about 300 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[12]) In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[13]) van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Gogosoa, viz. Oringhkhimma (elsewhere Osinghkamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khuma, alias Jan; and Otegno, alias Peter (D. Sept. 26, 1658).

[14]) van Riebeeck says of them in this connexion: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Gogosoa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yea! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, so that we had daily fed him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Osinghkamma, his eldest son, is playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1, 1661).

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In 1659 there arose between the Goringhaiquas or Capemen and our countrymen who were there a violent struggle over the occupation and ownership of the land about the Cape.[15]) The Capemen attempted to expel us, alleging that they had held this land from time immemorial. In this war the Gorachouquas (Tobacco Thieves) gave them continual support; and whenever an opportunity occurred of attacking our people they struck down many with assegais and killed them tragically. In addition, they plundered our countrymen of cattle lawfully bartered from them with merchandise, driving away the beasts so rapidly that they could not be fired upon, for they availed themselves mostly of opportunities when the weather was unsettled and rainy, knowing well that little could then be effected against them with firelocks.

The knowledge of this trick they had obtained from one of their own people, known to them as Nommoā and to our countrymen as Doman.[16]). He had spent four or five years in Batavia, where he had been taken in one of the Company's ships; and had closely observed the habits of the Dutch, even acquiring no small part of them himself. Returning again to the Cape in the ships directed for Holland, he remained for some time in European dress amongst our countrymen, but finally went back to the Capemen, making them fully acquainted with the habits and customs of the Dutch and the nature of their weapons. He and another doughty warrior, called Carabinga by the Hottentots and Flat-Nose by the Dutch, [17]) were always outstanding in battle. They took the lead in all the attacks, and owing to their remarkable agility could never be caught, not even by secret watches of men on horse or on foot.

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wards Governor-General of Netherlands India, to Batavia, whence he returned in March 1656, rejoicing in the name of Anthony (D. March 21, 1658; May 19, 1659); altogether, therefore, he was away less than a year, and not "four or five years" as stated by Dapper. On his return he was employed as an interpreter, but one night early in Feb. 1659 he disappeared from the Fort, and the next that was heard of him was that he had been recognised as the leader of a party of plunderers (D. Feb. 7, 1659; May 19, 1659; Theal, *op. cit.*, 92). After the end of the war he came back to live at the Fort, and is mentioned in 1661 as an official interpreter once more (e.g. D. May 16, 1661). He died Dec. 12, 1663, "for whose death", says Wagenaar, "none of us will have cause to grieve, as he has been, in many respects, a mischievous and malicious man towards the Company" (Moodie, *op. cit.*, 272).

[17]) Mentioned by van Riebeeck (D. Aug. 5, 1659) as one of those "who as a rule gave us the most trouble, having always been present everywhere as the principal champions in the war against us".

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Na het befrijven van al deze vrolijkheden, wierden d'oversten met rode kralen, kopere stokken, en platen, en elk daer en boven met een rolletje tabak beschonken; maer de gemene *Hottentots* moesten zich met het voorzeide onthael vernoegt houden: waer op zy alle gezamentlijk, na dat een parthye dien nacht in het Fort geslapen had, weder vertrokken, uitgezeit, de voornoemde *Herry*, die noch drie of vier daegen daer verbleef.

De zelve *Herry* spreekt mede een weinigh Engelsch, geleert door het verkeren met d'Engelschen in *Bantam* in Indiën, daer d'Engelschen een vastigheit hebben, derwaerts hy van de kaep met een Engelsch schip over gevaren was; maer komende naderhant met een schip weer aen de kaep, begaf hy zich weder onder zijn volk.

COCHOQUAS OF SALDANHARS.

De *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, alzo by d'onzen genoemt, om dat zich altijts meest ontrent en in de dalen van de *Saldanhabay* hebben onthouden, gelegen achtien mijlen Noord-westwaerts van de kaep, leggen in vijf of zestien negeryen verdeilt, elk ontrent een vierendeel uurs van elkandre, en bewonen met hun allen ontrent vier hondert, of vier hondert en vijftigh huizen. Ieder negerye bestaet uit dertig, zes-en-dertig, veertig en vijftig huizen, meer en minder, alle in 't ronde gezet, en een weinig van elkandre, daer binnen, versta binnen ieder negerye, de *Saldanhars* hun vee in bewaringh stellen.

Zy bezitten een groote menighte van schone beesten, wel over de hondert duizent, en ontrent twee hondert duizent schapen, die geen wol, maer langachtigh gekleurt hair op 't lijf hebben.

Al de *Kochoquas*, of *Saldanhars*, staen onder eenen overste of koning, met den tijtel van *Koehque*, dat gezeit is, een koning van 't Hottentots geslacht, die op ontrent vijftigh mijlen van de kaep wonen, als de *Gorachouquas*, of Tabaks-dieven, desgelijx de *Goringhaiquas* of Kaepmans,

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[258a]) Bantam forms the western end of Java. An English station was established there as early as 1602, but the Dutch ultimately gained the upper hand and took possession of the district in 1643. If Herry accompanied an English ship there, it must have been nearer 1640 than 1650.

[258b]) Also mentioned in the records as Cochonas, Kochehoqua, etc., a name which Wuras (*op. cit.*, 389) interprets as "sheep owners". Van Riebeeck says of them that "the tribe consists of some thousands of men, and generally occupies the country in the middle, opposite to us, at the foot of the African Mountain range, extending from about False Bay to Saldanha Bay. They,

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After the conclusion of all these festivities, the chiefs were presented with red coral beads, copper sticks and copper plates, and each one in addition with a roll of tobacco. But the common Hottentots had to remain content with the entertainment just described. Then, after some had slept for the night in the Fort, they all again went away together, except for the above-named Harry, who remained there for another three or four days. This Harry also speaks a little English, which he learned through intercourse with the English at Bantam in India, where they have a fortress to which he sailed from the Cape in an English ship;[28a]) but returning again later on to the Cape, he once more rejoined his people.

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Cochoquas or Saldanhars.

The Kochoquas[28b]) are called Saldanhars by our countrymen, because they have always dwelt mostly near and in the valleys of Saldanha Bay, eighteen miles north-west of the Cape. They are settled in fifteen or sixteen different villages, about a quarter of an hour's distance from one another, and all told inhabit four hundred or four hundred and fifty huts. Each village consists of thirty, thirty-six, forty or fifty huts, more or less, all placed in a circle a little distance apart. The Saldanhars for safety keep their cattle in the centre of the village (at night). They own a large collection of cattle, well over a hundred thousand in number, and about two hundred thousand sheep, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair on the body.

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All the Kochoquas or Saldanhars are under a chief or king with the title of *koehque*, which means a king of the nation of Hottentots living up to within about fifty miles from the Cape, such as the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, together with the Goringhaiquas or Capemen,

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however, do not always remain in one spot, but move about from one place to another for a change of pasture" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240). Elsewhere he speaks of them as having "cattle like grass on the field" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). They consisted of two divisions, one under Oedasoa, the other under Gonnoma; and it is evident from the records that on occasion these divisions acted independently of each other (e.g. D., June 20, 1659). Oedasoa claimed to be "paramount chief" of the Kochoquas, Chariguriquas, and the Peninsula tribes already mentioned (D., Dec. 1, 1661). The main headquarters of Oedasoa was near Mosselbank River, on the west of Paardeberg, and that of Gonnoma on the Berg River near the modern Riebeeck Kasteel; but they often wandered far away, even much beyond the pasture-lands of the tribe next to them (Maingard, *S. Afri. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 495).

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000 en de *Goringhaikonas* of Waterman, groote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*. Tot zijne hulp heeft hy eenen onder-koning, en noch eenen ander, de derde perzoon in 't Rijk. De *Koehque* of Koning der *Saldanhars* die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestig regeerde, was genaemt *Oldasoã*, zijn onderkoningh *Gonnomoã*, en de derde perzoon in 't rijk *Koukosoã*. d'Onder-Koning *Gonnomoã* wort by d'onzen aen de kaep, de zwarte kapitein geheten, ter oorzake hy altijts zwarter en vuilder in 't aenzicht is bestreken, dan d'andere: is een grof en zwaerlijvig perzoon, getrout aen drie vrouwen, by de welke hy vele kinderen gewonnen heeft; daer nochtans de *Koehque* of Koningh *Oldasoã*, die des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, aen een langdurige en quijnende ziekte is komen t'overlijden, noit niet meer dan een eenige vrouwe heeft gehad. Deze *Oldasoã* was een perzoon, frai van leest, welgestelt van leden, en zeer zedigh, die ook noit den onzen de wapenen heeft aengeboden; desgelijx is de derde perzoon in 't rijk tamelijk frai van aenzicht en zedigh van manieren. Koning *Oldasoã* liet eene dochter na, met name *Namis*, goelik en zeer schoon van gedaente, uitgezondert dat zy wat plat van neuze is, gelijk al deze volken zijn.

GROTE EN KLEINE KARICHURIQUAS EN HOSAAS.

De grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas* leggen meest in de dalen en daer ontrent van de Saldanha-Bay. Zy

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622 [28]) For "Oldasoã" (in the records his name is always spelt Oedasoa) and "Gonnomoã" (whose name also appears as Gonnoma, Ngonnoma, etc.), see above, n. 28. Koukosoa van Riebeeck speaks of as "the chief of Oedasoa's kraals" (D., Dec. 1, 1661), or as "the secunde of his army" (D., Nov. 3, 1660), or as his "chief councillor" (D., Nov. 16, 1661), etc.

624 [29]) Van Riebeeck refers to him as "a niggardly and beggarly fellow, who has most extraordinarily trained his men for the begging business," whereas Oedasoa, "though of smaller stature, is a more stately and commanding man" (D., Nov. 7, 1658). In the first years of contact with the Kochoqua, Gonnoma was believed to be the great chief, and Oedasoa his inferior (D., Oct. 21, 1658; Nov. 7, 1658), but by the middle of the following year their true relationship had been recognised (D., June 28-29, 1659).

622 [31]) Dapper is mistaken here. Oedasoa did not die until 1689 or 1690 (Theal, *op. cit.*, 355); it was his wife who died in 1661 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240).

142 [32]) Van Riebeeck calls her "a beautiful, well-shaped girl, not darker than an ordinarily white Mestiso" (D., Nov. 3, 1660).

619 [33]) Also referred to in the early records as Charingurina, Chariquas, Charinguriqua, Chariguriqua, Gregeriqua, etc. The real name of the tribe, according to Vedder (*Native Tribes of S.W.A.*, 114) was ≠*Kari-huriqua*, i.e. the small (≠*kari*) tribe which lives

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the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoä, his subordinate king Gonnomoä, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoä.[29]) The subordinate king Gonnomoä our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[30]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoä, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[31]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoä left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[32]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

GREAT AND LITTLE KARICHURIQUAS AND HOSAAS.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[33]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

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at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamans," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

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erneren zich, nevens de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, mede met zeer schoon vee, hun eenigste hoop en betrouwen, gemerkt zy in den droger zomertijt niet anders hebben, dan van hun vee te leven.

Dus verre van de Hottentots, genaemt *Gorachouquas*, *Goringhaiquas*, *Goringhaikonas*, *Kochoquas*, grote en kleine *Karichuriquas* en *Hosaas*, die dicht aen de kaep gelegen zijn; de verre te landwaerts in gelegen, zijn de *Chainoquas*, *Kobonas*, *Sonquas*, *Namaquas*, *Heusaquas* en *Hankumquas*, hoewel eenige de *Kobonas* niet onder de *Hottentots* rekenen.

CHAINOUQUAS.

De volken, genaemt in de lant-tale *Chainouquas*, zyn tegenwoordigh wel drie maenden reizens te lande in geweken, met huis, hof, vrouw, kinderen en vee, en wonen, na het zeggen van d'andere wilden, zeer na by de *Kobonas* lant; doch zijn niet boven de vier hondert menschen in getale, maar rijk van schoon vee.

De *Chainouquas* staen onder eenen overste, genaemt *Sousoð*, een out man: heeft twee vrouwen gehad doch beide doot: heeft eenen zoon genaemt *Goeboe*, dien zijn rechter been van eenen olifant te pietteren is getrapt, en kan het zelve tegenwoordigh door de verdorvenheit niet ter werelt gebruiken. Wanneer de *Chainouquas* met hunne negerye opbreken, moet deze *Goeboe* op een os zitten, en daer op en afgetilt worden. Zyn vrouw is genaemt *Kamisoð*.

De kleding van dezen overste *Sousoð*, is een schoon luipertsvel, met de bevlekste en schoonste zijde na binnen gekeert, en d'onzienlijke vleeschzijde, wel vet besmeert, na 's lant-maniere, na buiten.

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34) See below, s.v. *Kobonas* (p. 28).

35) Also mentioned in the early records as Chaynunqua, Chaynouqua, Chainouna. Wuras (*op. cit.*, 289) interprets their name as "those who are swollen or puffy in the face". The Dutch first came into contact with them in Sept. 1660, when "a certain new tribe, which had never before seen our people or ships, came down to us; their language, but not their clothing, differs somewhat from the Hottentoos dwelling in our neighbourhood. They are called the Chainouquas", and the name of their chief was Sousa (*Letters desp.*, iii, 183). The latter had "such power, and was so dreaded, that neither Oedasoa nor any of his subjects nor others would dare to come to us to trade, as long as these Chainouquas were in the neighbourhood; but they would all make

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They subsist, close to the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, upon very fine cattle, their only hope and trust, considering that in the dry summer time they have nothing else upon which to live. 619 [231]

So much of the Hottentots named Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas, Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas, who are found close to the Cape. Further inland are the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas and Hankumquas, although some do not include the Kobonas among the Hottentots.[34])

CHAINOUQUAS.

The people named Chainouquas[33]) in the local vernacular are at present withdrawn fully three months' journey inland, huts, women, children, cattle and all; and dwell, according to the statements of the other savages, very near to the country of the Kobonas. They do not number more than about four hundred people, but are rich in cattle. [162 231]

The Chainouquas are under a chief named Sousoä, an old man, who had two wives, both now dead. He has a son, Goeboe, whose right leg was stamped upon and crushed by an elephant, with the result that owing to putrefaction he cannot now use it at all. When the Chainouquas break up their villages, this Goeboe has to ride on an ox, on to and down from which he must be lifted. His wife is named Kamisoä. The clothing of Chief Sousoä is a fine leopard skin, with the spotted and more attractive side turned in, while the unsightly fleshy surface, well greased according to local custom, faces outwards. 619 622 [291]

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way for them, and come to greet the king with presents of cattle, etc., to show the obedience they owed to him" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). About 1666 the Chainouqua began to be called Soeswas, Soesequas, Soeswaquas, etc., by the Europeans, though the old chief Sousoa, from whom the new name was derived, had died in 1664 (Theal, *op cit.*, 155; D., Feb. 25, 1664). In 1672 two leading men of this tribe, "on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw", ceded to the Dutch "the district of Hottentots Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams and forests, together with False Bay . . . in return for merchandize amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d. (Theal, *op. cit.*, 200-201). The principal Cnainouqua centres were at Knofflock's Kraal R., a tributary of the Palmiet R., at Bot R., and at Tigerhoek (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 495-6). 619 622

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NAMAQUAS.

De Hottentots, genaemt *Namaquas*, leggen tegenwoordigh ontrent tachentigh of tnegentigh mijlen oost-noord-oostwaerts van de kaep van goeder hope, maer zeer verre te landewaerts in.

Des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, wierden door het Opperhooft van 't Nederlants Fort, de Heer *Rietbeek*, dertien Neerlanders, verzien met vier draegh ossen, om te vernemen of by hen geen gout of eenige andere rare kostelijkheden te vinden waren, derwaerts gezonden. Zy vonden hen ontrent tachtigh of negentigh mijlen noord-oost-waerts van de kaep te lande in, en wierden, by hen komende, met tekenen van alle vrientschap en een bly gelaet ontfangen, en met schapen vereert. Desgelijx wert hun aenkomste begroet met een ongemeen en raer musijk, van ontrent hondert muzikanten, die alle, ieder met een riet, doch van ongelijke lengte, in de hant, in een kring, (daer een man in 't midden met een stok de maet sloegh,) stonden, en daer uit met blazen, een zulk heerlijk grof en fijn geluit deden voortkomen, als of ieder riet een trompet de marine waer geweest. Na het eindigen des gespels, 't welk twee of drie uuren duurende, en in groote vrolijkeit toeging, wierden d'onzen op 's koninghs-verzoek in zijn huis gebraght, en daer met melk en schapen-vleesch onthaelt, daer en tegen d'onzen den koning met wat koper, en kralen, brandewijn en tabak vereerden, die de koning noch de *Namaquas* noit hadden zien suigen, maer leerden zulx alle in korten wijle, tot vrouwen en kinderen toe. Eindelijk wiert hen door den koning een plaets even buiten hun leger aengewezen, om nacht en dagh-rust te houden.

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41) First mentioned, under the name Namana, in the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by Eva (D., Oct. 31, 1657). Further information was obtained from Harry (D., Oct. 31, 1657) and Soeswa (D., Dec. 16, 1660), but the Dutch did not actually come into contact with them until 1661, when they were encountered by Cruythoff's expedition (D., March 11, 1661). Van Riebeeck's notes on them, written in 1662 for his successor (*Letters desp.*, iii, 241, 243-4), are consequently far more accurate than what he has to say about them in a letter written to the Chamber of Seventeen in 1659 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). In later years the Dutch learned to distinguish two groups: the Little Namaqua, living in what is now Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, and the Great Namaqua, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South West Africa. Both groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, but their tribal cohesion and culture have been completely destroyed by contact with the whites, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood.

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NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

619 [131] 574 [533 534] [278]

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

[191] 619 177 144

[42]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 10. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 46-63.

[43]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

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ivory, in front of their private parts,[48]) and wear a bracelet of the same material on the one arm, as well as many copper rings. The women go about stark naked, having nothing but a small bit of skin tied in front of their pudenda, just like those at the Cape. In the summer they wear on the head, like the Sonqua women, a sunshade of ostrich feathers tied to a stick to protect them against the rays of the sun. Every Namaqua always has hanging from his arm a light and pretty little stool made of wood and cord, without iron or copper, which he carries with him everywhere to sit on.[49]) The government is in the hands of a king named Akambia, who has three unusually tall sons.

291 301 352 622

Brygoudys.

Still further inland than the Namaquas live another people named Brygoudys,[50]) of whom but little can be written owing to lack of knowledge, as they have never been found by our countrymen. But according to what our people at the Cape have heard from the Namaquas, they are a numerous people, and as powerful and rich in cattle as all the Hottentots at the Cape. The Namaquas and Brygoudys wage strenuous wars against one another.[51])

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Heusaquas.

The Hottentots named Heusaquas[52]) lie approximately northwest of the Cape, very far into the interior. Hitherto our countrymen at the Cape have found out but little about their mode of life and customs, and that only from the descriptions of other Hottentots; for no one has ever come across their settlements, nor have more than three of them

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[51]) Both expeditions to the Namaqua in the early part of 1661 came back with news that the former were on hostile terms with the "Brygoudys" (D., 10/3/61; 23/4/61).

[52]) Also referred to as Hessaqua, Hassequa, Essaqua, etc. First mentioned in the Dagverhaal (Sept. 27, 1660) when Eva told Riebeeck of "a certain other tribe called Hesaquas, which we had never before heard mentioned, regular dagga makers of the Hancumquar . . . Their language differed greatly from that of the Saldanhars, so that they could not understand each other, except through an interpreter." Van Riebeeck mentions them in his final list of tribes, but only to say that they had not yet been at the Fort, except for an emissary from their chief (*Letters desp.*, iii, 241; cf. D., Feb. 11, 1661). Their name survives in Hessequas Kloof, in the district of Swellendam, where they appear to have had their grazing grounds, moving gradually further east (see Maingard, *op. cit.*, 496, who also suggests that their name may mean "the men of the woods", from *heib*, tree, *-se*, adj. ending, *-qua*).

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den overste van de *Chainouquas* daer eenige beesten en schapen quamen verhandelen, gaende aenstonts weder met hem naer hunne woonplaetsen.

De *Heusaquas* zijn vee-rijk: dan deze alleen erneren zich ook met 't planten (want geen onder al de daer te lande gevonden Hottentots planten of zaien, dan alleen de *Heusaquas,)* van zekeren krachtigen wortel, dien zy *dacha* noemen, en eten om dronken te worden; hoewel zy den zelven bywijlen ook met water mengen, om te drinken. Wanneer het eten en drinken des wortels *dacha* hen de hersenen bedwelmt en bevangen heeft, stellen zy zich, met het bedrijven van vreemde grepen en wonderlijke grillen, als dolle en uitzinnige menschen aen; onder welk krioel en gewoel, de vrouwen komen, en zeker fijn geklopt en gewreven kruit, genaemt *boggoa*, op hun hooft stroien. Dit kruit, dat geel en sterk-riekend is, wast op het hoogh geberghte, met klompen of klaeuwen aen de klippen, in groten overvloet, en wort van de mans opgezocht, en van de vrouwen bereit.

Ontrent de *Heusaquas* leggen de vee en volkrijke *Hankumquas*, doch zijn noit by d'onzen aen het Fort geweest.

De *Heusaquas* zijn byzonder vaerdigh met jonge en oude leeuwen om te gaen, die zy in strikken weten te vangen, en te temmen, met een bant aen den hals, als een hont. Zy trekken ook wel met leeuwen, die zy lang gehad, en heel tam gemaekt hebben, ten oorloge, en kunnen daer mee den vyant, zonder moet van eenige tegenstant te bieden, in de route op de vlucht drijven; 't geen velen vremt wil voorkomen, en echter in 'er daet onder hen gepleeght wort.

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53) *Leonotis leonurus*, whose leaves are still smoked by the S.A. natives like those of Indian hemp, producing a similar stupefying effect. Dapper is wrong in stating that the Hessequa cultivated this plant. Van Riebeeck terms them "regular dagga makers of the Hancumquas" (Sept. 27, 1660), but says of the latter (from hearsay evidence also) that "they plant and dry a certain plant *dacha*, which they bruise and eat, and which makes them very silly" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242; cf. D., Dec. 16, 1661). Maingard, after discussing all the evidence, concludes that these Hottentots never *cultivated* dagga, but that they traded in it, which probably gave rise to the legend (*op. cit.*, 493).

54) More correctly *buchu*, a common name to this day in S. Africa for various species of *Barosma* and *Diosma*, much used by natives as a sweet-smelling powder.

55) First mentioned, as Chancumqua, in the list of tribes given by Eva (D., Oct. 31, 1657), supplemented later by the statement that they cultivated dagga (D., June 21, 1658). Soeswa told van Riebeeck that the chief of these "Hamcumquas" was "the chief lord of all the Hottentoo tribes" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). All that

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ever been at the Fort. They came there with the chief of the Chainouquas to barter some cattle and sheep, and then immediately went back home with him. [437]

The Heusaquas are rich in cattle. Moreover they alone (for none of the other Hottentots in this country plant or sow the ground) also support themselves by planting a certain powerful root which they name *dacha*[53]). This they eat to become drunk, although they also sometimes mix it with water for drinking. Whenever the eating or drinking of this root affects their brains and makes them giddy, they behave like crazy and senseless people, performing all sorts of strange gestures and wonderful grimaces. In the midst of this hullaballoo the women come and strew over their heads a finely-stamped and ground herb named *boggoa*[54]). This herb, which is yellow and has a powerful odour, grows in great abundance in clusters on the rocks of the mountains. It is gathered by the men and prepared by the women. [231] 276 [302] [824]

Close to the Heusaquas are the Hankumquas[55]), rich in people and cattle. They have however never been to our countrymen at the Fort. 619

The Heusaquas are especially clever in handling young and old lions, which they know how to catch in snares and tame, like dogs, with a collar round the neck. They even set out for war with lions which they have long had and completely tamed, and in this way are able to set the enemy to flight without encountering any resistance. This may seem strange to many readers, but is nevertheless actually the practice amongst them[56]). 231 726

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was known of them in 1662 is summarized by van Riebeeck as follows: "These Hancumquas, as we have always been able to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty Hottentoo tribes, living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on the same spots, where they plant dacha. The chief of the tribe seems to be the paramount chief over all the Choequees or Kings" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 242). Later explorers did not succeed in discovering the Hancumqua, unless, says Maingard, we are prepared to identify them with the Inqua, ruled over by Hykon, "who might, by inaccurate reporters, have been quite conceivably given the name of Hykonqua, or the men of Hykon" (*op. cit.*, 402). (On the Inqua, cf. Schryver's Journal, ed. by E. R. Mossop. V.R.S. 12.) 619

[53]) Another exaggeration. The official records speak merely of "a certain nation, of whom the Emissary from the Heusaquas said that they keep the lions so tame and use them as we do dogs" (Letters desp., iii, 242). This emissary, when questioned by van Riebeeck, "told us many wonderful things which he would make us believe, but time will be our best teacher". Nothing is said about the use of lions in war. (D., Feb. 11-12, 1661.)

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GOVERNMENT.

Some of the Kafirs or Hottentots are governed by kings, like the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, and others by chiefs, like the Gorachouquas or Tobacco Thieves, the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, the Great and Little Karichuriquas and the Hosaas. The other Hottentots living further inland are for the most part either governed by a chief, like the Chainouquas, or, like the Sonquas, live in the wilds without a leader; or, like the Namaquas and Heusaquas, are under a king[83]).

619 622

RELIGION.

No one, however thoroughly he has inquired, has ever been able to find among all the Kafirs or Hottentots or Beachrangers any trace of religion, or any show of honour to God or the Devil. They know nevertheless that there is a being, named by them *'s Humma*[84]), who sends rain on earth, makes the winds blow, and produces heat and cold. But they do not pray to him; for why, say they, should they pray to this *'s Humma*, who at one time gives excessive drought, and at another excessive rain, when they would rather see it fall moderately and conveniently, so that the grass should grow nicely and their cattle and sheep graze abundantly and luxuriously. Moreover they imagine that they can themselves restrain the rain as well as the wind. This they try to do in the following manner[84a]). First, in order to keep away the rain, they lay a small burning coal on a chip of wood in a small hole dug in the ground, and on top of the coal a small tuft of hair pulled out of the head. When it begins to stink they fill in the hole with sand, and then urinate over it, after which they all go away shouting loudly. To make the wind subside and be still, they hold one of their most greasy skins on a long stick

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83) On the political organization of the Hottentots, see Introduction, p. VI.

84) This word is identified by Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, p. 37) with the Nama */homi*, heaven, and is not the name of any particular supernatural being, although the attributes with which Dapper credits *'s Humma* are those of the rain god *Tsui-//goab*. His delightful account of Hottentot scepticism is not confirmed by later writers, who show that actually the Hottentots had a well-developed system of ritual in connexion with the powers of nature.

84a) The two rites which Dapper here describes are not mentioned by other writers. The Naman until within recent times had elaborate rain-making ceremonies, and possibly Dapper may have intended to describe a similar ceremony here, for it is unlikely that any South African tribe should have wished to deprive themselves of the all-important source of the water supply upon which they are all so dependent.

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CHAP. VII.

The Seasons of the Year.

Here the winter is not very rough nor severe; there are not many hailstorms; nor are the rivers frozen; the hoar-frost brings the greatest cold. For here the year is not divided into four seasons, but, as in your India, into two. Rain makes the winter, drought the summer; both are buffeted by furious winds. But when at home the heat of the dog-star prevails, then here is the chill of rainy Orion; for when at home the Sun is approaching the equator, here, moving in the opposite direction, it recedes from it. Then if you choose any spot in Holland, Amsterdam for example, the Cape of Good Hope is 17 degrees and 51 minutes before it in respect of latitude, and 11 degrees and 30 minutes behind it, if you consider the longitude. For in the month of October, which is the beginning of summer here, when the leaves are being stripped from the trees at home, growing things here are just beginning to shoot.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hottentots who inhabit this realm.

The people who bear this name are divided into various tribes:—

1. The chief tribe is that of the *Essequaes*.[1]) This tribe is first both in numbers, in stature (you would think them almost giants), and in physical strength. None of their own race ever attacks them with impunity. Suppose the Namaquas or some other tribe have stolen two or three head of cattle, forthwith they descend on them in war. They are pretty well known by our countrymen, though inhabiting tracts of land at a distance of 150 miles, or a little more. They are frightened at the unfamiliar spectacle of our arms; in other respects they agree in their habits with those who are regularly settled at the Cape of Good Hope. Once a year, on the Governor's orders, a merchandise of tobacco, arrack, and copper necklaces, is sent to them to be profitably exchanged for cattle. The natives are agape for these articles owing to the long interval of waiting.

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[1]) The Hessequas (see above, p. 39) were at this time one of the most important markets for the purchase of cattle to supply the needs of passing ships, and, as Ten Rhyne says, expeditions were frequently sent to barter with them. He describes this trade more fully below, see p. 125.

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2. Alteram *Namacquaes* constituunt, hunc sibi peculiarem in vestitu servantes ritum: quod ubi alii vulpino, caprinove corio, hi ex elephantino dente contextis canistellis pudenda tegant, vix penetrabilibus aliis tutiores in bello scutis.

3. Hos sequuntur *Sousvas*, ejusdem cum nostris Hottentottis ingenii & indolis.

4. Hinc *Sonquas*, quibus sontica* de caussa a nostratibus ereptae sunt pecudes, ut silvis degentes alimoniam ex desertis, ferarum praesertim venatione petere cogantur.

4. His affines sunt *Gregoriquas*.

6. Inimicum agmen claudunt *Honnimas*, quibuscum nostrates ob dira municipum homicidia bella gerunt. Quorum *praefectus supremus*, *Honnima* dictus, claudus etiamsi senex; strenuus tamen miles est.

7. Illi vero, qui inter nostros securi arcem frequentant, auxiliares in terrestri bello copias componunt. Eorum praefectus generalis *Claes* appellatur, & ab illo secundus *Capteyn Cuyper*, egregii uterque & vafri milites, non semel a me visi, mera cum nudipeda plebe mendicabula: sic huic, sex stipatoribus comitato, emendicatum *tabaci* frustulum pluries dedi, Gallice tantillum cum eodem locutus.

* Ten Rhyne is fond of puns. He has a similar play on words (p. 90) about Table Mountain and the table of the Governor. B.P.

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[7]) See above, p. 34.

[8]) A misleading description; the garment referred to was a little apron, consisting of an ivory tablet attached to "a beautifully pleated and prepared skin" (see above, p. 33). Ten Rhyne is incorrect in saying that the C[illegible] Hottentots wore goatskins, for none of them possessed any goats.

[9]) Van Meerhoff describes these as "shields of double ox hides, which are dry, and so large that they can completely shelter themselves behind them" (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 38).

[10]) The Chainouquas (see above, p. 26), whose present name was derived from that of their chief Souswa.

[11]) Bushmen. Ten Rhyne is of course mistaken in saying that they were deprived of their cattle by the Dutch and so forced to a hunting mode of life; they were characteristically hunters, and possessed no cattle save what they could steal from the Hottentot tribes. But in 1669 Cruse encountered a band of Bushmen with a large herd of cattle which they had probably stolen, and when these Bushmen attempted to seize his merchandise, he and his men retaliated by shooting upon the Bushmen and seizing all their cattle. Ten Rhyne is probably referring to this incident. (D., Jan. 26, 1669: Moodie, *Record*, 303-4).

[12]) Called *Karicheriquas* by Dapper.

[13]) *i.e.* Gonnema's clan of Kochoqua (see above, p. 33). The causes of their war with the Dutch have already been referred to (p. 38).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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2. The second tribe is that of the Namaquas.[7]) They maintain the following fashion in dress peculiar to themselves: whereas the others wear skins of foxes or goats, they cover their nakedness with a lattice of elephant's tooth.[8]) They are better protected in war than the rest, having almost impenetrable shields.[9])

3. After them come the *Soussus*,[10]) with the same mental and physical equipment as our Hottentots.

4. Next are the *Sonquas*,[11]) who for just occasion were bereft of their cattle by our countrymen, with the result that they live in the woods and are forced to seek a means of livelihood in the desert, chiefly by hunting wild animals.

5. Their neighbours are the *Gregoriquas*.[12])

6. The *Honnimas*[13]) are the last of this hostile array. With them we are at war by reason of divers murders perpetrated on our countrymen. Their chief captain, *Honnima* by name, is old and lame, but a vigorous soldier.

7. Finally those who mingle freely with our men about the Castle form auxiliary troops. The general in command of them is called Claes, and the second in command is Captain Cuyper,[14]) both excellent soldiers and tacticians. And indeed I myself have often seen them, a pair of beggars, with their ragged crew at their heels. To the latter, with his retinue of six attendants, I have often supplied the pinch of tobacco for which he begged, holding a little conversation with him in French.

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[7]) Claes (Klaas, known to the Hottentots as Dorha) was head of a Chainouqua clan. He first came into prominence about 1672, and was for many years a firm supporter and cattle trader of the Dutch, and regarded as their most faithful ally. He was on hostile terms with Gonnema, and fought against him in the war of 1672-77, hence Ten Rhyne's reference to "auxiliary troops". "Claas with his rival Captain Koopman became chiefs of the Chainouquas on the death of Scusoa. In 1691 he was confined on Robben Island by Simon van der Stel for robbing Koopman of his cattle. Koopman during his exile took the wife of Claas. When he returned from banishment to his grazing grounds beyond Sir Lowry Pass his wife attempted to rejoin him. She was overtaken by Koopman and stoned to death. Claas was killed in the winter of 1701 while searching for a strayed or stolen ox near Koopman's kraal" (Idiomeg, *V.R.S.* 12, 209 n). Cuyper (or rather de Cuyper, "the cooper"), first mentioned D. July 6, 1668, was head of one of the Goringhaiqua kraals. In the agreement of May 5, 1673, by which "the minor chief Dhouw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentots Holland," sold that land to the Dutch, reference is made to "the Hottentot chief Dackigy (alias Cuyper, stadhouder and guardian to the prince?) (!) (Idiomeg, *Record*, 218-9). It is interesting to note how, within twenty years of the settlement at the Cape, the names of the local Hottentot clans and tribes had already fallen into general disuse, the different groups being more commonly known by the names of their headmen or chiefs, while only the more remote groups still bore their tribal names.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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to remain their home for a long number of years, and that the Taaiboschee and the Links were then still living together. 175

The history of the migration of the Korana tribes, especially the Taaiboschee and the Links, tallies entirely with the traditions still current at Bloemhof. *Tabak*, *Matibi* and *Totsé* all agreed that they had come along the Orange River, there they had had a fight with the Batlaping. It was only when they reached Taungs that the Barolong attacked them but were driven to Setlagoli. Then they lived at Taungs with the Taaibosch, and separated from them at Mamusa. Scouts had been sent to reconnoitre the grazing and hunting possibilities of the banks of the Vaal. The Links then took their departure.

IV. HISTORY OF THE LINKS TRIBE

We have now reached the point, in the history of the northern Korana, when the Links have separated from the main body of the Taaibosch, and we shall now follow their fortunes in their future career as a separate tribal entity. When this separation actually happened, cannot now be accurately dated, for, from the meeting of Links by Campbell in July 1813,[1] when they seemed to be still in close contact with the Taaibosch, until 1820, when the existence of a large independent kraal of the Links on the Donkin River is disclosed by Hareena to the same official of the London Missionary Society, nothing is known of their movements. But, at any rate, it is certain that this " hiving off " occurred in this intervening period. 175 619

Hareena was a chief of the Links, who met Campbell on his second journey in August 1820, at Koonah on the Orange River, where the Korana was on a visit.[2] His tribe lived far away in the interior, at the junction of the Yellow and Donkin Rivers, that is, to give them their modern appellations, the Vaal and the Vet Rivers. The description given by Campbell of the " Donkin River which runs into the Yellow River, about four days' journey above its junction with the Mahalareen (i.e., the Harts River) and flows from the east " makes identification definite, for the point where the Vet River flows into the Vaal is precisely 100 miles, that is four days' journey at an average of 25 miles a day, from the junction of the Vaal and Harts Rivers, and the general direction of the Donkin from east to west also corresponds to that of the Vet River. 175 619 191

[1] Campbell, 1813, p. 250-2.
[2] Campbell, 1820, II. p. 283, and Appendix iii in Vol. ii, pp. 348-352.

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The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, " contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Leghoyas—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical " treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Bloemhof,[3] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 240 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a " bamboes " full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheidebokee, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid " trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty " packing up " of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[4]

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bontar*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chuboo, besides passing two or three smaller " villages."[5] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

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[3] See Historical Texts.

[4] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaranstad.

[5] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

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in that district was large enough to warrant the establishment of a missionary station among them. This took place in the course of the next year when Rev. Edwards chose *Moor* as the scene of his activities. *Moor*, which, if cannot definitely be identified with the modern Bloemhof, could not, according to the indications given by Broadbent, have been very far from it.[6] But the times were unfavourable for missionary enterprise. After the Mantatees came the Bataung Molitsane. The Maquassie Station was again attacked and destroyed and its disappearance had, as a consequence, the relinquishing of the station at *Moor*.[7] It had not lasted a complete year. The Korana, however, soon (1826), established friendly relations with Molitsane.[8]

This Bataung chief had a remarkable personality and he seemed to have, at an early period, won the confidence of the Links Korana, and henceforth they remained his firm and constant allies, even bringing upon the tribe, through this friendship and alliance, the horrors of war. For shortly after (1829), it was the hand of the dreaded Moselekatze, the most bloodthirsty chief of the Ndebele, which was raised in vengeance against them. The details of this struggle, scattered through the depositions of various witnesses at the Bloemhof Commission, have had to be laboriously gathered and pieced together to obtain a true and complete picture.[9]

Maclabie—whose name is perpetuated in the *Machavi* of the Western Transvaal—a Barolong chief, lived in close proximity to Sifonello, on what is the present farm of Harteheestfontein, west of Maquassie. He was then the subject of Moselekatze, paying his vassal dues in skins and karosses. He, too, had been attacked and robbed of his cattle by Molitsane, who, not content with spoiling the subject, presumed to steal the cattle of the great chief Moselekatze. Molitsane had then his principal kraal, where the Links had been in 1820, at the junction of the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and as he retired with his spoil to his huts, Moselekatze followed, after joining his impis with Maclabie's men. Hot in pursuit of the robber chief, they passed the Vaal, drove him headlong, along with the fighting force of the Links, across the northern plains of the Free

[6] Broadbent, on his return journey to England, took approximately 2 days from Maquassie Station to *Moor* and he mentions it as being close to the Vaal, pp. 122-125.

[7] R.W.M.M.S. 1824, p. 66; 1825, pp. 38-39.

[8] R.W.M.M.S. 1826, p. 123.

[9] B.C. Depositions of Maclabie, p. 260-5; Magaal p. 326-328; Johannes Hendrik Visser, p. 249; Masson, p. 291; Johannes Links, p. 292; Jan Pienaar, p. 247; Nicholas Kruger, p. 330.

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175 619 721 State, until they hurled Molitsane and the Links over the Modder River. A great battle took place just beyond, at Spitz Kop near the modern Bloemfontein. Molitsane had divided the stolen cattle in two parts; those which he had directed upon Spitzkop were recaptured by his enemies.

Johannes Hendrik Visser, a Colonial Boer who was in the habit of "trekking" yearly over the Great River with his flocks and herds, has left a graphic picture of the scene of havoc and desolation which met his eyes when, shortly after—in July 1829—a young boy of sixteen, he happened to be on the field of battle. "The following morning we rode with Esterhuisen, who pointed out the spot where the Stinkhoutspruit empties itself into the Modder River and from there threequarters of an hour on horseback to a single hill on the west side of the spruit and where we saw bodies of men, women and children by the hundreds. I did not know the tribes at that time, but they wore the same dress as the Barolongs, Batlapins and Bushmen kafir do at the present day. I examined hundreds of bodies, all of which had been killed by assegais and the only live person I saw was a young boy sitting alongside of a woman and which (sic) Stoffel Visser took home on horseback by order of the field-cornet. According to the track the Commando had retraced its steps through to the same drift." No doubt, if Visser had known more about the tribes, he would have recognised some faithful allies of Molitsane—the Links,—among the dead.

Molitsane himself was then attacked by Adam Kok, the Griqua chief of Philippolis, and his power finally broken. He will, however, appear at a later date, again as the ally and friend of the Links.

175 619 The Links, who had played a part in the battle of Spitzkop, belonged to the younger generation of the tribe, and among them was the chief's son, Johannes Links. The older people had remained where the kraals were then, at the junction of the Sand and Vet Rivers. The tribe seems to have remained dispersed for some time, as, in 1835, Rev. Wurst, of the Berlin Mission Station of Bethany, found Abraham Links with several large kraals in the same neighbourhood.[39] It is certain that the Bloemhof district had ceased to be occupied by them until 1841.

During the intervening period (1829-1841) there had been events of the first importance in the history of South Africa. The Great Trek had taken place and the "emigrant Boers," to use the official designation of the documents of the English Government, had appeared on the scene

[39] B. M. D. 1836, p. 178 ff.

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of a country, which, previous to 1836, had only seen few white men, chiefly missionaries and a few occasional Colonial Boers, like Visser, who crossed the Orange River in search of winter pasture. In what is now the Bloemhof district, Dutch hunters in large parties would appear to pursue the plentiful game—springbok, blesbuck and wildebeest—which then swarmed on the banks of the Vaal. Such were Wynand Carl Bezuidenhout and Johannes Ludovicus Pretorius—two of the original "voortrekkers." Bezuidenhout, a Free Stater, had travelled up the Vaal River from the point of its junction with the Harts River as far as the ruins of the old Wesleyan Mission Station in the Maquassie Bergen in 1837, on a hunting expedition. He had crossed the Vaal at the drift just below Bloemhof. In all the distance he had travelled, he had met with nobody,—Korana or Bantu or White man,—except two Bushmen.[11] The country was uninhabited. A year later, Pretorius went in the opposite direction, from Sand River in the Free State, to the Salt Pan, below Bloemhof, to fetch salt and to hunt. Neither he nor any one of his large party found "any occupants but an old Bastard near the Vet River."[12] As late as 1840, Daumas, the French missionary of Mekwatling, in the Free State, travelling on a visit to the French missionary station of Motito in Bechuanaland, met, along the lower course of the Vet River, and through the Bloemhof district, only a few Bushmen and Griquas.[13] Such had been the result of the sanguinary wars of Moselekatze and the fear inspired by his name continued long after to exercise its spell. Thus also it is an established fact that the Links had for the whole length of this period kept away from their former pasture grounds along the Vaal River between Christiana and Maquassie Spruit.

In 1841, we first hear of them again in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. In November or December of that year, a "smous," that is an itinerant trader, Piet de la Rey, with the lumbering ox-wagon carrying his stock-in-trade, slowly and laboriously made his way from the Free State through the Bloemhof drift to his Native customers at Taungs. On the road, he outspanned at the Saltpan. A kraal of Korana resided there, "under Abraham Lynx and also his sons Gert and Johannes Lynx."[14] They had returned to their old home and their movements are further confirmed by the traditions now extant among the Bloemhof Korana.

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[11] B. C. p. 237-238.
[12] B. C. p. 198.
[13] J. D. Missions Evangeliques, 1841, p. 16-17 and map.
[14] B. C. 253.

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175 For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan
619 and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was
797 in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the
261 Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Saron—that was its name—was founded in June, 1847, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Batlaping under
[161] Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,600.[15] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Saron itself, Gert Hareip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[16] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,[17] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

175 To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana
619 in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely
797 pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[18] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.[19]

Old Hareip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years,
[166] had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[20] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

175 Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only diffi-
619 culty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the
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[15] B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
[16] B. M. B. 1853, p. 80.
[17] B. M. B. 1853, p. 81.
[18] B. M. B. years 1848-1854.
[19] B. M. B. 1850, p. 202
[20] B. M. B. 1853, p. 84.

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Taaibosch threatened the destruction of the station. Gert Taaibosch was then the chief of the Korana of Nieuweland where he, in company with his brother Hanto, the Wesleyan Missionary Archbell and the Barolong of Moroko, had migrated from Platberg in 1834. In 1849, he and his friend Sikonyela fell foul of Moshesh, the great Basotho chief, and Moletsane. The latter has already appeared in this story, as the friend and ally of the Links and, in fact, at the time of the attack of Taaibosch was in possession of some cattle of the Links. The victorious Taaibosch made no distinction in the property of the cattle, but took all he could get. When Hareip of Saron heard the news, he was naturally disturbed and was for immediate war, but Schmidt pursuaded him to apply for redress to Major Warden, the British resident at Bloemfontein. This he did, and obtained a letter directing the restoration of the Links cattle. Before, however, this could be used, the Links had already fallen upon the Taaibosch, who were on their way to Pniel on the Vaal River and recovered their cattle besides killing some of the men of Taaibosch, who vowed vengeance. Thanks, however, to the mediation of the missionaries, nothing serious resulted from this episode.[21]

A further loss of ten waggons during an attack by Major Warden on Molitsane at Mekwatling in September 1850 exasperated the Links, who until then had remained neutral. It drove them—Molitsane himself at a later date assigned this as a reason for their action—to rank themselves on the side of the Bataung chief at the battle of Viervoet (June 30th 1851), which ended so disastrously for Warden and his Native allies, among whom were Jan Taaibosch, Jan Bloem and Goliath. One of its consequences was a series of cattle forays by the Links under the leadership of adventurers like Van der Kolf. These events have their echo in the Berichte of the Berlin Mission, which show their disturbing effect on the Links.*

In the meantime, other occupants had appeared. Matlabane, who has already been mentioned, and his BaMairi did not trouble the Links to any great extent. In fact, he himself, and possibly a number of his subjects, had Korana blood in their veins, and in accordance with the custom, not unknown among the Batlaping chiefs, he had married a Korana wife, the daughter of Gert Links, so that, when, in 1846, he came to his father-in-law, the permission to occupy grazing land was

[21] B. M. B. 1850, p. 191 ; 202-6.

*Bas. Rec. I. pp. 299, 414, 421 ; Imperial Bluebook—no Number—May 1853, p. 18 ; B. M. B. 1851. pp. 12, 51, 202, 220 ; 1852, note on pp. 3-5 ; pp. 103, 106.

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175 readily granted.[22] BaMairi and Links seem to have lived in peace beside each other.
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But a more serious menace to the free movements of the Korana, their flocks and herds, over vast stretches of the country, and the consequent impossibility of their time-honoured, but wasteful methods of grazing, was the gradual spread of the white occupation from the "Voortrekker" centres in the east into what is now Western Transvaal. In 1849 the farm "Jakhalsfontein" beyond the Maquassie Spruit, was already occupied by J. G. Jansen van Vuuren.[23] In 1850, Jacobs was farming on the site of Bloemhof itself.[24] In 1851-2 the old Barolong chief, Maclabie, on removing from the neighbourhood of Potchefstroom to Taungs, found "Boers . . . living down all along the Vaal River on both sides and had houses."[25] H. Lambert Jacobs who knew the district well, adds "at that time a great many squatters were moving about with their cattle, also some in this direction to the Saltpan's drift and above that. A person named Barclay lived at Bloemhof and had a reed house."[26]

175 Events in the political world had a great share in inducing the
619 Korana to seek fresh pastures. The dispersal of the London Society
648 Mission at Mabotsa and Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, the news of
797 which reached Saron early in 1852; the proclamation of the Sovereignty
167 beyond the Orange River in 1848; the war between the Boers and the English and the battle of Boomplaats; and the final abandonment of the Sovereignty by Great Britain in 1854 had an unsettling effect on the mind of the Links tribe.[27] Wild rumours of the advance of Boer Commandos on Saron became current and were probably based on the official notice that "the district line was proclaimed provisionally up to the Harts River."[28] But the immediate cause of the break-up of the Saron Mission Station was a visit paid to it by President Pretorius in February 1854, with the object of inducing the Batlaping chieftains Mahura and Gasibone to meet him at the Saltpan to discuss the land question. This they refused to do. During his five days' stay, he was highly pleased with the missionaries. Before he left, he took the

[22] B. C. p. 291-3.
[23] B. C. p. 257.
[24] B. C. p. 324.
[25] B. C. p. 263, and 265.
[26] B. C. p. 323.
[27] B. M. B. 1848-1854.
[28] B. C. 325.

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opportunity of reprimanding Gert Links for his lukewarmness in supporting the Station, and brought upon himself the answer that the missionaries were no good to the Korana people. A request from the Boers that they should be allowed free access to the Saltpan to gather salt—a request which the Korana refused—must have further roused their dissatisfaction and their suspicion. The President had hardly left, when rumours went round that a strong commando against them was on the march; " now that Pretorius has been here," said the Korana, " and that he has won our land, we must go." On the 1st and 2nd March, the Links forsook Saron for the Nieuweland at the foot of the Basutoland Mountains, where their ally, Molitsane, was living. The Station was at an end and Johann Schmidt spoke bitter words about the ingratitude of the Links.[29]

In the meantime Matlabane had taken such firm possession of the land that his name is perpetuated in the farm " Matlabanestad," along the north bank of the Vaal, and his power was so unquestioned even by the Boers, that one of them, Engelbrecht, in return for his services to him, as Veldcornet, was granted a farm in the district by the BaMairi chief in 1865.[30]

The Links seem to have settled down for a time in Nieuweland, but not for long. In 1858, during the disturbances consequent upon the Boer war against Gasibone, subjects of Hermanus Links seem to have wandered down the Vet River once again, for they were then residing at its junction with the Vaal.[31] Native tradition at Bloemhof, throws further light on this obscure period of the history by tracing their migration at that time one step further to the farm " Nooitgedacht " on the Free State side of the Vaal, at a point nearly opposite Bloemhof. It is, however, certain that in October 1864, the traveller Anderson outspanned, just below Bloemhof near " a large Korana station " . . and he received " the visit of the whole kraal. . . about 70 in all."[32] Dr. Holub, the Austrian traveller and scientist, visiting Holwater, a farm adjoining the Saltpan in 1871, records that " it was virtually under the authority of the Korana at Mamusa " and " soon after his visit the White people took their departure and left the collection of the salt to the Koranas," and four years later, he finds " a good many Koranas " still at the Saltpan.[33]

[29] B. M. B. 1854, pp. 162-5.
[30] B. C. 215.
[31] B. C. 289.
[32] Anderson. *Twenty-five years in a waggon*, p. 51.
[33] Holub, E. *Seven years in South Africa*, I. p. 195.

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175 During the absence of the Links in the Nieuweland and other parts of the Free State, the discovery of the diamond fields at Kimberley and
● 619 along the banks of the Vaal River, had considerably enhanced the value
648 of the territories which until then had been occupied by the Natives.
797 England, the Free State and even the Transvaal Republic were all laying claim to their possession. Colonel Warren had been sent by the Imperial Government to settle boundaries between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State in 1877. A Commission sat at Bloemhof in 1871, to settle the land claims between the Transvaal Republic and the Native chiefs, but had been unable to come to any decision. In October of the same year, Lieutenant Governor Keate, on the evidence gathered at Bloemhof, had made his "Award," which the Transvaal had consistently refused to recognise. The Links people had then returned to their old pasture-grounds in the "disputed territory," or, as it was sometimes called "the Keate Award," under conditions differing vastly from those under which they had left and when they applied in 1876 to Pniel for a missionary,[34] perhaps it was with the remembrance of what the Berlin Missionary Society had done in the past in maintaining the integrity of their territory. Rev. Kallenberg, who was in charge of the station at Pniel, travelled to the Saltpan and finally strongly recommended that the request be granted. Before a new missionary could come, Kallenberg looked after the Links at Saron, but Col. Lanyon evidently objected to his activities, for he had to warn him. Matters were proceeding fast. In the issue of the Kimberley paper, the *Diamond News* of the 5th November 1878, there appeared a proclamation signed by Hermanus Links and his councillors, laying claim "to certain large tracts of land in the Bloemhof district."[35] Col. Warren, who had been appointed Commissioner for the settlement of land claims, and also Col. commanding the troops in the Bloemhof district, was then on duty at Mamusa. He immediately summoned Hermanus Links, who appeared before him and repudiated the proclamation in a solemn declaration, because "these were not his words." He had not had it explained before signing it, nor did he make any claims to any lands.[36] In December of the same year, Missionary Brune arrived to take charge of the new Saron Mission.[37]

175 Warren, in January 1879, directed Best, the Landdrost at Christiana, to request both Kallenberg and Brune to leave Saron. Kallenberg had

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34 Wangemann. *Sud-Afrika und seine Bewohner.* Vierter Aufsatz, p. 24.
35 Imperial Blue Book, C. 2454-'79, p. 33.
36 Ibid, p. 34.
37 Wangemann op. cit. p. 24.

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already done so, but Brune flatly refused. In the meantime Warren had had an interview with Kallenberg in Kimberley.[38] There had been some serious differences already between the two men. Warren had had to adjudicate in the matter of the Pniel mission lands two years previously and had commented on the attitude of Wuras and Kallenberg towards the Korana in no measured terms.[39] Hence probably the inevitable reaction. It was a stormy interview during which Kallenberg became excited and violent, invoking the influence of the Society at the Court of Berlin and threatening to write at once to the Secretary of State in London. Warren seems merely to have reminded him of his position, as the one responsible for the peace in a country under military occupation. Kallenberg at a later stage retreated from his position, and apologised.[40]

News of a serious nature now reached Warren in Kimberley. The Links had used force at the Saltpan to resist an officer of the peace sent to arrest one of their number for stock theft. Warren immediately proceeded to Christiana, where Mr. Brune and Hermanus Links arrived the next day to be examined. There Brune maintained his position that he was living under an independent Native chief and not under the British Government, but he retracted subsequently and was allowed to go on parole to the hotel, previous to going to Kimberley. Hermanus Links could assign no reason for his resistance, though at one point, he blamed Brune, but afterwards recanted. That night Col. Warren had to leave Kimberley owing to grave intelligence of signs of disturbance among the Natives, and he left the duty of disarming the Korana at the Saltpan in the hands of Major Rolleston.[40]

What happened after Warren's departure is told in the Report of Capt. Poole.[41] Mr. Brune is said to have broken his parole "on hearing of the Zulu disaster," and proceeded to the Saltpan. He is held responsible for the subsequent loss of life. Major Rolleston carried out his instructions on the Sunday afternoon with a mixed force of mounted police and volunteers. The Korana posted on the ridge above the Saltpan, were prepared to fight. On being called upon to lay down their arms, they took no notice, but retired into the bush. Major Rolleston, to show his peaceful intentions, rode among them unarmed, at the risk

38 Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83. Report of Colonel Warren on the Affairs of Bechuanaland, p. 5.

39 Imperial Blue Book—No number, Report on the land question of Griqualand West—Report No. 35, p. 81 ff.

40 Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635, already quoted.

41 Imperial Blue Book, C. 2316-'79, p. 71. ff; See especially p. 72.

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had induced him to believe that Hermanus Links was not under the English jurisdiction.[44] An impartial Court of Justice would certainly dismiss most of the major counts against Brune as " not proven."

On the other hand, Warren had to take strong measures, because he was in possession of undeniable proof of communication between the Zulus, the Bechuana and the Korana. In fact, in his despatches and reports to the Governor of the Cape, he mentions very precise cases of emissaries from the Zulus whom he had stopped on their way to the Barolong and David Massow, who were on the brink of a revolt.[45] It can therefore safely be concluded that the whole affair was the result of a series of misunderstandings from which, however, the Links were the chief sufferers. Caught in the vortex of our modern civilisation and involved in questions they could not understand, that luckless people lost their home, their all, and were dispersed, some going to Christiana, some to Bloemhof, some to Mamusa, only a few remaining at the Saltpan under Willem van Eck. The latter finally removed to Bloemhof, where they still are.[46]

V. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

The Korana texts here published are divided into two parts: (A) Historical texts; and (B) Ethnographical texts. The information they contain was obtained from the oldest among the Korana resident in the Bloemhof location who have been already described in the introduction.

The Historical texts are given without any commentary, as their most important points have been already embodied in the historical sections which open the present studies. On the other hand, the Ethnographical texts are accompanied by short notes by which it is hoped that their interest and value will be increased.

All these texts are in the Korana language, except three. The most important of these latter is the first series of historical texts given to me by my informants, partly in English and partly in Korana. I unified the language, keeping some of the relevant Korana words. In another important section, that on " Terms of Relationship," which is not properly a text, I for obvious reasons, had to explain them in English. One very short section, that on " Games," was thought to be more con-

[44] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6.
[45] Imperial Blue Book, C. 3635-'83, p. 6-7 and C. 2316-'79, p. 70-71.
[46] Wangemann, *Ein zweites Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika*, p. 77-81.

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to better oneself," a meaning confirmed by the older people, *Tabab*, *Matiti*, and others. This meaning is different from *doe*, which is simply "to trek, to flee." They used pack-oxen, */haimakwa*, in their migrations and they crossed the Orange River on the trunks (*ba:s*) of the willows, *=/hûib*, growing on its banks, as they had no boats.

!Kutsi belongs to the *//are mŋ //ais*, the "left-hand" tribe or the "Links" (i.e., the Afrikaans word for "left" and has nothing to do with "Lynx," the animal, as the word is often wrongly spelt). They originated from two brothers, one going to the right and the other to the left.

According to */kutsi*, the Korana had driven *Moselekatse* out of the Western Transvaal. He had heard of *Massow*, the great chief of the *kei !korana*, who lived at *Mamusa*, now Schweizer Reneke, where he and his tribe were destroyed about 1885. Now there are no more Korana at Schweizer Reneke, he said.

(ii) *Tabab*, the father-in-law, */uib*, of */Kutsi*.

They came from the sea. They followed up the Orange River and crossed it at *Prieskab* and followed (?) the *Birikwa*, i.e., the Batlhaping and the Barolong. There were two tribes, the "Links" (*//are mŋ //ais* and the "Taaibosch" (*kei !korana*).

There were fights on the Orange River and many *kei !korana* were killed. The chief of the "Links" was wounded, and the Batlhaping were destroyed. They followed the Vaal River (*/hei !garib*) and the Hart's River (*=/Kaob*) and arrived at Taungs. There was a great battle. The Batlhaping were destroyed. They fled to Kuruman. The Barolong were destroyed. They fled to Setlagole. They fled as far as the Molopo.

The *kei !korana* settled at Taungs. Together with the "Links," they hunted the wild animals and, in the manner of their ancestors, (*sida geide khaekhwa*), trapped them in pits (*surugukwa*). Then the Korana quarrelled among themselves. One day the big chief of the "Links" was wounded, but the "Taaibosch" were destroyed. The chief of the "Links" took (*u:ka-*) a wife unto himself from among the "Taaibosch." The people trekked, leaving the chief behind. His wounds were tended, and they killed an ox for him by night. They came to fetch him. There was no more fighting, and people were sent to the Vaal River. Then the whole tribe trekked. After all these wars, they settled at Sterkfontein, a farm a few miles to the west of Bloemhof.

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VIII. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KORANA TRIBAL NAMES.

Wikar(1)	*Albrecht*(2)	*Campbell*(3)	*Bloemhof*(4)
1. *Namryhoa.*	*t'Kamanaqua.*	*Karossdrager* / *"Weavers of Karosses or cloaks."*	
2. *Kaukoa of Snyervolk.*	*t'Kommqqua oder 'Sneider.*	*Snyers* / *"Cutters or taylors."*	
3. *Aukokoa.*	*t'Ogaqua oder "Naauwanger."*	*Naanarwangs* / *"Narrowcheeks."*	
4. *Kauringais "de Hoogekraal."*	*t'Qwoeriqqua oder "Hoogneemer."*	*"Hoogtens"* / *"Heights."*	*/Kuriŋ//aihua*
5. *Husingais "Spinnedraad."*	*t'hoekyqua oder "Spinnehopper."*	*Spinnehopsnoger.*	
6. *Key korakhoa of "Groot dito."*			*Kei /horana.*
7.	*t'Arisuangkys.*	*Links staan* / *"Standing to the left."*	*//aramŋ//ais.*
8.	*t'Hoemqquiqua.*	*Springbokkers* / *"Springbucks."*	*/hûb//aihua.*
9.	*t'Hoeaqua.*	*"Katmenchen."* / *"Cat people."*	*/hõaŋ//aina.*
10.	*t'Kounyqua oder "Zeekoenemers."*	*Zeekoedragers* / *"Bearer of seacows."*	*/hau//aina.*
11.	*t'Amzaqua.*		
12.		*Tovermaans* / *"Wizards."*	
13.			*/hûŋ//aihua.*
14.	*t'Noekijqua oder "Overkantnemers."*		

(1) G.M. ii. 1·7, 118, 124, 126, 128, 134. Date: 1778-1779.
(2) in Moritz. *Die älteste Reiseberichte in S.W. Afrika.* p. 99. Date: 1813.
(3) 1813. p. 282—four tribal names are left out in the above list.
(4) Bloemhof informants: *Tabab, Tetab, Khois, Iis.* They did not give any more names, except the *aaiise*, the *Barends* or tribe of Barend, the Griqua chief.

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•619 The geographical position of some of the northern Korana tribes in the 19th century has already been indicated in the preceding pages, viz. The " Taaibosch " or *Kei !korana* at Schweizer Reneke and at Umpukani ; the " Links " or *//aremŋ //ais* at Bloemhof ; The " Springboks " or */kũb //eikwa* at Pniel. It must be remembered, as has already been pointed out elsewhere (" The Lost Tribes of the Cape," *South African Journal of Science*, 1931 p. 495), that these geographical points are merely centres round which the tribes wandered.

The " Cat " tribe or */hõaŋ //aina* got involved with Jan Bloem and some are still to be found near Pneil (cp. Meinhof, op. cit. p. 5). An official map of the Pneil-Hebron region, " in the Government Office at Bloemfontein," initialled by H. Green, the British resident, and by F. K. Hohne, the Government Secretary, places, for the period 1849-1850, the " Hoogstanders " or */kuriŋ//ais ;* the " Seekoes " or *!hau //aina* and the " Skerpioens " or */hũŋ//eikwa* in the immediate vicinity of Pneil and Goliath Ysterbek, the chief of the " Right Hand " tribe, at Platberg.[1]

The tribes 1-3 in the table are more properly the *Eynikkoa* or "River volk " of Wikar. Campbell included them in his " Different Tribes of Corannas on the Great River." This became the practice later, for they are called officially Korana in the Government Reports on Sir Walter Currie's campaign against them in 1868-1869, when " Korannaland " was created, and again in 1878-1879, when they were practically annihilated. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book G. 61-'79). Even in 1875, their numbers were very small. D. Hook, Special Commissioner at Kenhardt, reported that there were only 120 to 140 under the two chiefs Klaas Lucas and Pofadder. (Cape of Good Hope Blue Book on Native Affairs C.A. 19.'75 p. 52-53).

This table is also of philological interest. It is a testimony to the disfigurement suffered by the Korana names in the attempt to transcribe them with inadequate phonetic symbols. Wikar renders the clicks with *k* and has no indication before *n*, *a* and *h ;* Albrecht with *t'k* or *t'q*, etc., being probably inspired here by Sparrman's or Lichtenstein's *t'*. Campbell, whose transcription and perhaps hearing of all Native words is extremely imperfect, has mangled beyond hope even the Dutch names, for he does not attempt the Korana ones.

Finally, it should be noted here that *//ais* means " tribe " ; *//aina* is its plural form and *-kwa* is the plural mas. suffix.

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[1] Imperial Blue Book. C. 508-'72, Map facing p. 56.

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600 children, as they are entirely left during their infancy to the care of the mother, were the medium through which the Hottentot clicks got introduced into the Kafir idioms (Zulu, ||Khosa, &c.); and with these elements they introduced the mother's religious ideas and the name of the Supreme Being, Tsũ||goab."

[17] *Vide* Theoph. Hahn, Der hottentotische Tsũi-||goab und der griechische Zeus: *Zeitschr. d. Ges. für Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1870, p. 452.

[18] Here we have a specimen of the blundering I spoke of in the beginning of the first chapter, where I protested against the indiscriminate use of the word *Hottentot*. It is obvious that after the word *Hottentot* has become so deeply rooted it would be difficult to annihilate it. But it must be used either to designate the whole race, Bushmen and Khoikhoi, or it must be simply applied to the Nomadic Hottentot or Khoikhoi. Or, from the Khoikhoi words for Bushmen and Nomadic Hottentot, Sa- and Khoikhoi, we should form, analogous to our "Indo-Germanic," a word Satsi-Khoikhoi, to be applied to the whole race. Missionaries, who live among the natives, and the superintendents of missions at least, should not commit any blunders as regards the ethnological nomenclature. Thus, we read in a mission tract, written for general edification: "*Along the west coast are distributed the various tribes of the Hottentots, Namaqua, Herero, Damra.*"—*Vide* Dr. Wangemann, "Maleo und Sekukuni, Ein Lebensbild aus Süd Africa," Berlin (1868), p. 53. That the Herero, a Bantu nation, suddenly were transformed into clicking Hottentots I had to learn from Dr. Wangemann.

619 [19] ||Eiχa||ais . . . . This tribe is a branch of the !Amas (the Amaquas of the Cape Records) who formerly inhabited the country between Bergriver and Olifants river. The !Amas again were a branch of the |Khauas (Cauquas of the Records) whose head-quarters were in the Worcester district, the present Goudini. It appears that the greater

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number of the so-called Cape Hottentots were tribes who were more or less connected with the ǀKhauas, and acknowledged that tribe as the paramount tribe, as about fifteen or twenty years ago the Geiǁkhous of Great Namaqualand had the supremacy over all the Nama tribes. Certain it is that the Geiǁkhous once ruled from the borders of Ovambóland to the mouth of Olifants river, and that all the tribes of Great and Little Namaqualand sent annually a tribute to the paramount chief, generally consisting of a heifer, buchu, spears, and copper or iron beads, and milk-tubs. The last tribute of that kind was paid in 1863; and in 1856, even from Korannaland the chief Poffadder came to do homage to ǁOasib on‡Hatsamas, acknowledging that his tribe, the "Springbucks," were a branch of the Geiǁkhous.

To return to Jager Afrikaner and his tribe, the ǁEiχaǁais, they formerly occupied the valleys of the Upper Olifants river and the Upper Breede-Rivier, in the vicinity of the Witsenberg, a mountain named after Witsen, the famous burgomaster of Amsterdam. Early in the Cape Records, in Simon van der Stell's time, we meet a chief of that vicinity by the name of Harramac, which is ǀHara-mub, as no name or word in Khoikhoi ends in c or k. And we meet this name again among the chiefs of the ǁEiχaǁais. This justifies the conclusion that the Harramac of the Cape Records was an ancestor of the ǁEiχaǁai-chiefs. The following names have still come down to us: Tsaūχab, about 1720; ǀGaruχab, about 1750; ǀGaruχamab, about 1780; ǀHŏaǀarab geib, 1790–1823; ǀHaramūb geib, 1823–1861; and ǀHŏaǀarab of Jan Jonker, 1861. . . . . It appears that their love for freedom was the reason that they left their native hills and dales, under the rule of the old chief ǀGaruχamab, and went to the north as far as the ǀHantam, where they in some way or other came under the sway of a Boer Pienaar, living on the Groot Doornberg farm, near the present Calvinia. Pienaar's unjustice, however, was so

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619 provoking that he was killed by the Afrikaners, as the ǁEiχaǁais were styled by the Boers; and under the guidance of ǃGaruχamab's son, Jager Afrikaner ǀHõaǀarab, they fled with the Boer's flocks and ammunition towards Griqualand, and from there again all along the Orange River to South Namaqualand, where they settled at ǁHamis or Blydeverwacht. Here the German missionaries, the brothers Albrecht, and afterwards Moffat and Ebner, came in contact with the tribe, who embraced Christianity. Jager Afrikaner died in 1823, and his second son, ǀHaramub, the famous Jonker Afrikaner, called by the then paramount chief of Great Namaqualand, Gameb, started with one part of the tribe towards the north, against the Herero, who encroached upon the Namaquas, and, with few exceptions, conquered and enslaved them. With Jonker ǀHaramub's death, however, the late Andersson and Green, and other Europeans, were the cause that the Herero rose, and in a war of nearly ten years, reconquered their freedom. The present chief is ǀHõaǀarab, son of the late ǀHaraǀmũb. Since 1842, after the visit of Captain Alexander, with a short interruption, they had a permanent mission station at ǀAiǁgams, at the foot of the gigantic Auãs mountains in North Namaqualand. Space does not allow us here to go into particulars, but this much we can say, that the history of this ǁEiχaǁais tribe would fill the most interesting pages of South African history, not lacking in romance and recording deeds of which our mediæval knights need not be ashamed.

000 = *Half-caste Hottentot women.*—The title of this valuable translation is: "Annoe Kayn hoeasti Nama-Kowapna gowayhiihati. Diihiiko Hoekays na Kaykoep Bridekirk, kipga. 1831;" or, written with the letters of the standard alphabet, ǃAnu ǃgatǂhoati Nama gobab ǃna χoahẽhãti. Holy good news, Nama-language in they have been written. Diheko ǁHuǃgais ǃna geiǃKhub Bridekirkib χa. Printed Capetown in, great-man (*i.e.*,